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A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY;

IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING

THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. ANQUETIL,

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES.

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A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

SICILY.

IF the continent has had its tempeſts, the iſlands have been expoſed to political commotions alſo. Sicily is the largeſt in the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form; and almoſt two hundred leagues in circumference. The ſoil is fertile, particularly in corn; for this reaſon it was formerly called the granary of Rome. The air is pure and ſalubrious, and the ſea produces abundance of fiſh. On account of its ſituation and ports, it is one of the moſt convenient countries in the world for commerce. It contains mines. Mount Gibello emits flames; throws up ſtones and aſhes; and alarms the inhabitants by its roaring: its convulſions have often overturned cities, and covered the iſland with ruins. No country has given birth to more men of learning and genius. Æſchylus,

Sicily, an iſland in the Mediterranean, between Italy and Africa.

Diodorus Siculus, Empedocles, Gorgias, Euclid, Archimedes, Epicharmus, and Theocritus, were all natives of this iſland.

In the Tuſcan ſea, near Sicily, lie the Æolian or Vulcanian iſles; ſo called becauſe Vulcan is ſuppoſed to have had his forges there, and Æolus to have confined in them the winds ſubject to his command: that is, the whiſtling of the winds through the caverns of theſe iſles, and their volcanic fires, excited the idea of forges and tempeſts. Lipari, the chief of them, is fertile; and abounds with alum, ſulphur, bitumen, and hot ſprings. Stromboli, equally fertile, is expoſed to the devaſtation of a very active volcano. Many of the other ſmall iſlands in the neighbourhood are entirely barren. Some inhabitants are found in the Ægean iſles, which lie on the other ſide; but they are not numerous.

Origin. The Cyclops and the Leſtrigons were giants, deſcended from Japhet, who landed in Sicily after the confuſion of tongues. This account is as void of probability as the fable which makes them to have been of an enormous ſtature, gives them one eye in the middle of the forehead, and ſuppoſes them to have been feeders on human fleſh. The Cyclops, who were deſtroyed, but in what manner is not known, were ſucceeded by the Sicani, who came from the banks of the river Sicanus in Spain. The number of the inhabitants was augmented by ſome Trojans after the de-

ſtruction of their country. The Siculi, or Sicilians, went thither as exiles from Auſonia, or deſerters from Liguria. After theſe the Greeks arrived in Sicily from Colchos, Achaia, and Doris. Italy alſo furniſhed ſome colonies; and Cretans, Rhodians, and many other iſlanders, landed on different parts of the coaſt, where each built a city. Hence that prodigious number of cities by which the ſhores of the iſland are bordered.

The Sicani at firſt had as many kings as cities; but they afterwards united under one ſovereign; and, as a nation, were long ſuperior to the other people who arrived after them. The Siculi enjoyed the ſame advantage, which was the cauſe of their mutual deſtruction. The Carthaginians produced peace between them, by ſubduing both. At length Syracuſe, which was indebted for its origin to a Corinthian, uſurped the chief power, and continued for a long time the miſtreſs of Sicily.

Syracuſe was divided into four parts, which were conſidered as ſo many cities, each fortified, and the whole encloſed with a triple wall, furniſhed with towers. It had two gates, defended by caſtles. Its commerce rendered it one of the richeſt cities in the world. It had at firſt kings; but afterwards the democratic government was eſtabliſhed. This alteration was continued; and Syracuſe exhibits, for ſeveral years in ſucceſſion, the ſpectacle Syracuſe.

of a ſtate of liberty under the popular government, and of ſlavery under tyrants.

Gelo, 2514. The firſt of theſe was Gelo. This prince ought to reconcile us with the appellation tyrant. In our language it excites the idea of an oppreſſor; but Gelo was mild, juſt, and generous. Hiſtory aſcribes to him every virtue; and reproaches him with no vice: it appears, however, that his authority, if not uſurped, was at leaſt obtained by ſurprize. Having introduced himſelf into Syracuſe by his addreſs, he gained the favour of the people, who inveſted him with abſolute power. Some wars, which he carried on with his neighbours, were attended with advantage to the capital. He ſelected from among them all the rich people, whom he carried to Syracuſe; and by theſe means laid a foundation for the immenſe commerce which rendered that city ſo opulent. The ſlaves who were taken in the courſe of the war he ordered to be tranſported from the iſland: in general, he was unwilling to ſuffer too great a number of them to remain in the cities: and he employed the ſame precaution in regard to the populace, in conſequence of this maxim—that it is eaſier to govern a thouſand rich citizens than one who has nothing to loſe.

By theſe means, when Xerxes undertook his famous invaſion of Greece, Gelo found himſelf in a condition to offer to the Greeks two hundred

galleys, four thouſand cavalry, twenty thouſand infantry, two thouſand archers, two thouſand ſlingers, and that he would maintain the Grecian army during the war, on condition of his having the chief command. It was, however, fortunate that this offer was refuſed; for while he was propoſing to ſend all his forces from the iſland, the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes had ſubſidized to make a diverſion in his favour, landed in Sicily an army of three hundred thouſand men, collected from all parts of Africa, under the command of Hamilcar. They moored their ſhips, which were in number five thouſand, cloſe to the land, and laid ſiege to Himera. Gelo, who beheld them with great uneaſineſs, eſpecially as they had partiſans in Sicily, among whom were the inhabitants of Selinuntum, intercepted a letter, by which he learned that the day following, while Hamilcar was to be employed in ſacrificing to Neptune, in a camp occupied by his naval army, whom he had brought on ſhore, a body of cavalry was to join him from that city. The letter by Gelo's order was conveyed to Hamilcar with great punctuality. While Hamilcar was engaged with his ſacrifice, having around him only a few unarmed ſoldiers, the cavalry appeared, in number as had been indicated, with the Selinuntine dreſs, and advancing towards Hamilcar put him to death. They then diſperſed the troops, and burnt the ſhips, while the other camp was attacked by Gelo. The conflo-

gration of the fleet ſtruck a terror into the enemy, ſo that the Syracuſans had only the trouble of killing them, or of making ſlaves, who tranſported the booty to Syracuſe. None of the veſſels eſcaped except eight, which were at ſea; but theſe being ſwallowed up by a ſtorm, there remained only one ſloop to convey to Carthage the news of this diſaſter. The Carthaginians in the utmoſt conſternation, and imagining that they already ſaw Gelo at their gates, ſent a deputation to him to ſupplicate for mercy. He received them into favour, and only required that they would agree to the following conditions: to pay a ſum of money for the expences of the war; to erect a temple in which the treaty ſhould be preſerved; and to aboliſh human ſacrifices.—To employ power for impoſing ſuch laws is noble.

Gelo being in a ſtate of peace removed the foreign troops from the city, and convoked a general aſſembly, giving orders that all the citizens ſhould attend it with their arms. He himſelf appeared unarmed: and, addreſſing the aſtoniſhed and impatient multitude, gave a circumſtantial account of his conduct; of the manner in which he had employed the ſums entruſted to his care; and of the uſe he had made of his authority: "Never," added he, "have I had any thing in view but the "public good. If I have, however, committed "any fault through ignorance, it is in your power "to puniſh me, as I have neither guards nor any

" other means of defence againſt you who are " armed." Every one preſent was affected by the truth of this addreſs, and the confidence he diſplayed. Hitherto he had appeared only in the modeſt quality of prætor of Syracuſe; but the people wiſhed that he ſhould aſſume the title of king, tranſmiſſible to Hiero and Thraſybulus, his two brothers.

The Syracuſans ordered alſo that in remembrance of the confidence he had ſhewn in appearing without guards and without arms, and in committing his life into their hands, a ſtatue ſhould be erected repreſenting him in the habit of a humble citizen. Afterwards, when the ſtatues of kings and tyrants had been multiplied, one of them, more ambitious of pleaſing than of governing his fellow-citizens, not only reſtored liberty to Syracuſe, but, to efface even the ſlighteſt traces of ſlavery, commanded all theſe ſtatues to be melted down for the benefit of the public. This meaſure was not executed by a blind populace without order or diſcernment. All theſe ſtatues, or rather thoſe they repreſented, were brought to trial; and they were all condemned, the ſtatue of Gelo alone excepted, as being a juſt monument of the gratitude which the Syracuſans entertained towards ſo worthy a monarch.

He is one of the few who have become better on the throne. He is praiſed for the care he took not to load his ſubjects with taxes. On embar-

raſſing occaſions he borrowed from them; and they lent readily, becauſe he paid with punctuality. He was not fond of thoſe arts which miniſter to pleaſure; and declared himſelf an enemy to every thing which tended to corrupt the morals. He frequently walked out into the fields; and converſed familiarly with the labourers. Gelo took no part of royalty but its cares and fatigue. He was often heard to ſay: "The Syracuſans, when "they placed the crown on my head, could have "no other object in view, by conferring ſuch a "ſtriking mark of favour, than to induce me to "defend the ſtate; to protect innocence; and to "give to my ſubjects, by a ſimple, modeſt and "frugal life, an example of thoſe virtues which "they ought to practiſe." He faithfully adhered to this kind of engagement; and it is remarked that his laſt words, on his death-bed, were an order to his brother not to deviate, in his funeral obſequies, from the ſimplicity preſcribed. The people repaid this reſpect for the laws by their tears and regret; and by decreeing to him thoſe honours which, at that period, were paid to demi-gods or heroes.

Hiero Thraſybulus, 2532.

Gelo and his brother Hiero, by whom he was ſucceeded, exhibit two very different portraits. Diodorus Siculus repreſents the latter as an avaricious, cruel prince, who was far from poſſeſſing the ſame ſincerity as Gelo. He adds, that on mere ſuſpicion he endeavoured to diſpatch his brother

Thraſybulus; and that he oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree that they would have depoſed him, had they not been reſtrained by a remembrance of the virtues of Gelo. Ælian, on the other hand, extols this prince on account of his juſtice, liberality, and excellent diſpoſition. He ſays, that the pooreſt people are leſs diſpoſed to receive than he was to give; that his generoſity knew no bounds; that he was the friend of the ſciences and fine arts; that nothing could equal his candour and ſincerity; and that he lived in the moſt perfect harmony with his brothers.

This contraſt may be explained by diſtinguiſhing two epochs in the life and reign of Hiero:—the firſt, when full of ſtrength and vigour he ſuffered himſelf to obey the impulſe of a ſavage and ferocious diſpoſition; the ſecond, when attacked by a lingering diſeaſe, he ſhut himſelf up in his palace and made reflexions which produced in him a wonderful change. During this indiſpoſition his greateſt pleaſure was to converſe with learned men, whom he invited from all quarters to viſit him. Among theſe were Baſilides, Epicharmus, Æſchylus, Simonides, and Pindar: three poets, and two philoſophic courtiers. Theſe were ſufficient to cut the pencil of hiſtory in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould afterwards trace out nothing but praiſe.

In regard to Thraſybulus, his portrait is delineated only in one manner:—he was cruel and ſanguinary. By his pride one might have ſaid that he

believed himſelf to be of a nature different from that of his ſubjects. All thoſe who gave him the leaſt cauſe of offence were maſſacred. With him riches were a ſufficient ſignal for proſcription. Incenſed by this oppreſſive conduct, the Syracuſans took up arms. The tyrant fortified himſelf in one of the quarters of the city, from which he offered to enter into a treaty; but the people would hear of no other terms than that he ſhould abdicate and quit Sicily. He at length ſubmitted, and retired to Italy to linger out his life in obſcurity.

Petaliſm, A.D. 2544.

His departure reſtored liberty to the Syracuſans, who eſtabliſhed a democracy, which, however, aſſigned the magiſtracies to the principal inhabitants. They excluded likewiſe foreigners, to whom Gelo had granted the freedom of the city out of gratitude for the very great ſervices they had rendered during the war. They remonſtrated; and as no attention was paid to their complaints they ſeized upon one of the quarters of the city; but their proviſions being intercepted, they were obliged to combat and were defeated. The ſame thing took place in ſeveral other towns where foreigners, for the ſame reaſon, had been eſtabliſhed with the like privileges. The Sicilians then believed that, as they were delivered from foreign troops, they had no longer occaſion to be apprehenſive of tyrants; yet there frequently appeared among the rich, men who ſeemed to aſpire at authority. Some of theſe were repreſſed before their pretenſions had

an opportunity of burſting forth; and others were puniſhed after they had publicly diſplayed them. At laſt, the Syracuſans, that they might free themſelves from the embarraſſment of being continually on the watch, eſtabliſhed a law ſimilar to that of oſtraciſm, at Athens, which they called *petaliſm*, becauſe they employed in it a leaf, called in Greek *petalos*. It was inſcribed with the name of any perſon who by his riches, influence, or merit, ſeemed likely to raiſe himſelf to ſupreme authority; and if condemned, by a plurality of voices, he was baniſhed without farther examination. The ſeverity and frequent employment of this law made men of merit avoid expoſing themſelves to it. They deſerted the country; and the magiſtracies by theſe means were filled with the dregs of the people, and citizens deſtitute of talents. The abuſe of it produced a remedy. Petaliſm was aboliſhed; and the reins of government were committed into hands capable of managing them.

War againſt the Athenians, A.D. 2588.

It is not uncommon to ſee a ſpirit of conqueſt inſinuate itſelf into republics. Syracuſe, which refuſed to obey others, attempted to ſubdue the cities around it; but they entered into a league againſt the common enemy, and finding themſelves too weak called in the aſſiſtance of the Athenians. Theſe people, whether from a deſire of plunder, or love of glory, had long wiſhed to form an eſtabliſhment in Sicily; and when the

confederate towns ſent orators to explain their wants, they ſcarcely gave themſelves time to deliberate. Nicias, a prudent general, whom the public eſteem marked out for that expedition, endeavoured to make ſome remonſtrances; but his voice was drowned by the clamours of a few young officers who breathed nothing but war. The people, hurried on by their enthuſiaſm, would admit of no delay. Nicias required a hundred galleys, and five thouſand land forces; both of which were inſtantly provided, with a ſufficiency of money to defray the expences. The ſenate ſent for the chiefs to receive their orders; and being no leſs ſanguine in its hopes of victory, addreſſed them as follows: "The Syracuſans, and the inhabitants of "Selinuntum, their allies, you will tranſport from "the country in order to be ſold as ſlaves. The "reſt ſhall pay an annual tribute, and receive laws "from Athens."

Next morning the army, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand choice troops, with that air of triumph which young ſoldiers readily aſſume, marched from the city to the Pyræus, where the fleet was waiting to receive them. All the citizens, together with the ſtrangers then at Athens, haſtened to the port to behold this ſpectacle. As ſoon as the troops had embarked, the ſails were unfurled, and a trumpet gave the ſignal for departure. Solemn prayers were poured forth to the gods; and the officers and ſoldiers, according to cuſtom, drank

from gold and ſilver vaſes to the happy ſucceſs of the enterprize.

It was not, however, ſo eaſy as the Athenians had imagined. They found very little reſource in thoſe whom they had gone to aſſiſt. They were obliged to ſupport almoſt the whole burthen of the war; but they began it in a very brilliant manner, and arrived before Syracuſe, which they beſieged by ſea and by land. The Syracuſans were reduced to great diſtreſs by famine, and above all by the want of water. They were induced therefore to ſpeak of ſurrendering juſt at the moment when the arrival of Gylippus, the Lacedemonian general, was announced to them. Wherever the Athenians made an attack, they were ſure of finding themſelves oppoſed by Spartans. Theſe auxiliaries revived the drooping courage of the Syracuſans, who gained ſuch advantages, that Nicias was under the neceſſity of demanding a reinforcement from Athens.

After the great hopes which had been conceived, the Athenians were aſtoniſhed at this demand; but it did not diſcourage them. They diſpatched another fleet, commanded by Demoſthenes, a brave and enterprizing general; and having on board eight thouſand troops, warlike machines, and an immenſe quantity of proviſions. It arrived with the air and parade of victory. The ſterns of the ſhips were crowned with flowers, and the maſts ornamented with ſtreamers, while the

beſieged city reſounded with the ſhouts and noiſe of trumpets which proceeded from the fleet and the camp.

As theſe freſh troops were inflamed with a deſire of ſignalizing themſelves, Demoſthenes induced Nicias to make an aſſault, which was not attended with ſucceſs. The Athenians, who blockaded Syracuſe, found themſelves blockaded in the harbour. The neceſſity of forcing a retreat, of which they began to be ſenſible, obliged them to make a laſt effort to ſave their fleet; and this effort occaſioned one of the bloodieſt battles mentioned in hiſtory. The two armies were drawn up on the ſhore, while the inhabitants covered the ſummits of the walls, and the moſt elevated parts of their houſes, which overlooked the port. The two fleets attacked each other with a bravery which degenerated into a ſpecies of phrenzy. The ſlaughter on both ſides was dreadful. The lamentable cries of the wounded, and of thoſe periſhing in the waves, added to thoſe which proceeded from the armies ſtationed on the ſhore, prevented the troops from hearing the word of command. Each followed the dictates of his own courage. As the battle was fought cloſe to the walls of the city, parents were witneſſes to the death of their children; and wives to that of their huſbands. One friend beheld another pierced with the fatal ſhaft without being able to aſſiſt him. After the conteſt had been continued for

ſome hours, the two parties found themſelves ſo exhauſted with fatigue as to be incapable of wielding their arms. If any of the veſſels, however, attempted to gain the ſhore, the crew were inſulted with the bittereſt reproaches. "Do you "wiſh to return to Athens by land?" ſaid the Athenians to their ſoldiers; and, though covered with wounds, they drove them back into the ſea. If a Syracuſan, ready to be ſwallowed up by the waves, endeavoured to make towards the land, his countrymen cried out: "Save your life by "jumping into one of the enemies' ſhips, or die "glorioufly defending your country." The combat laſted the whole day; the Athenians were beaten; and a ſhout of triumph from the Syracuſan fleet, which was anſwered by other cries of joy from the land army, and the ſpectators on the walls, announced the victory.

No reſource was left to the Athenians, but to endeavour to reach ſome town in alliance with them, where they might wait till ſuccours ſhould arrive from Athens, or veſſels to convey them back. They began their march, but with the conſternation of an army forced to abandon its ammunition and baggage, and uncertain of finding ſubſiſtence. Their deſpair was ſtill increaſed by the ſight of the dead and the dying, the former of whom fell a prey to the wild beaſts, and the latter to the vengeance of their enemies. The ſick and the wounded, claſping their comrades or

friends in their arms, conjured them, with tears, to carry them along with them. Others, feeble and languid, followed them as far as poſſible; and when their ſtrength entirely failed, they implored the gods to avenge them for the cruelty with which they were abandoned. The air reſounded with groans; and their route was marked out by the ſcattered bodies of the dead.

They were briſkly purſued by the enemy, who allowed them ſcarcely a moment of reſt. Having arrived at a river, they were ſo tormented with thirſt that they threw themſelves into it, without order or diſcipline. The Syracuſans followed them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. The two generals were taken. Nicias had never approved of this war. He had conſented to it merely becauſe he knew that, in a republic, it is dangerous to ſhew a will contrary to that of the people. He had not dared to make peace, nor to enter into a truce, though ſenſible of the neceſſity of doing ſo, becauſe a republic renders its generals reſponſible for events; but, at any rate, he had conducted the operations of the war with prudence and humanity. The people of Syracuſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the chief men in the city, condemned the Athenian and his colleague to be publicly ſcourged, and thrown from a precipice. The ſoldiers were ſhut up in the quarries, where they received ſuch a ſcanty allowance of nouriſhment as convinced them that they would ſoon

cloſe their wretched exiſtence; and, in their turn, infect with their putrid carcaſes the ſurvivors, as they were infected by the bodies of thoſe already dead.

Second war againſt the Carthaginians.

Thoſe deſirous of knowing how far the cruelty of man may be extended, muſt read the account of Hannibal's expedition to Sicily. This general was the grand-ſon of Hamilcar, who had been killed before Himera, while coming to the relief of the people of Selinuntum. Their intereſts, however, were now changed. The inhabitants of Selinuntum refuſed to accede to an inſidious accommodation, propoſed to them by the Carthaginians; and it was on them that the latter began their devaſtation. They were invited to Sicily by the diviſion of the inhabitants, which gave them reaſon to hope that they ſhould be able to repair, by an abundant booty in that iſland, the loſſes they had ſuſtained in their former war. On this account they gave the command to Hannibal, who had to avenge the death of his grand-father. He landed with three hundred thouſand men, almoſt all Africans—barbarous and ferocious ſoldiers.

It was often the fate of the Sicilians to defend themſelves as heroes, and yet to be conquered. This fate was experienced by the inhabitants of Selinuntum. They defended their walls, their ſtreets, their public ſquares, and even their houſes, but were every-where overpowered by numbers. About two thouſand of them, under cover of the

night, retired to a neighbouring town, where they were kindly received, The reſt were put to the ſword: not a man of them eſcaped; and the enemy ſet fire to the city. The ſoldiers had the inhumanity to throw the women and children into the flames. Some of them were ſeen with legs, arms, and other limbs, ſuſpended from their girdles; while others carried about bloody heads on the points of their lances:—horrid trophies of the moſt dreadful barbarity!

From the ruins of Selinuntum, Hannibal proceeded to Himera. The defence made here was no leſs obſtinate; but equally fruitleſs. The victory was attended with the ſame atrocities; to which the general added the following refinement of cruelty and vengeance. He ordered three thouſand Himerians to be conducted to the ſpot where his grand-father had been killed, and after expoſing them to the inſults of his barbarians, cauſed them to be inhumanly butchered. Crowned with theſe bloody laurels, he carried to Carthage an immenſe booty, which the tranquil inhabitants of that opulent city divided among themſelves, without giving vent to a ſigh of pity for the numberleſs evils they had occaſioned.

Hermocrates. Diocles.

The Syracuſans ſent aid to their neighbours thus attacked; but too weak, and not in ſufficient time to prevent their diſaſters. Beſides, they were not unanimous among themſelves. The inhabitants were divided into two factions; and it appears, that,

as uſual, one of them conſiſted of the rich, and the other of the poor. At the head of the former was Hermocrates, a man of merit; who, after the defeat of the Athenians, had commanded againſt them, in Attica, the ſuccours ſent by the Syracuſans to the relief of the Spartans, and had returned from that expedition with glory. The popular party was headed by Diocles, a man of ſevere manners, who was highly eſteemed on account of his probity and wiſdom. Before his time, the magiſtrates had been choſen by open vote, but he introduced the cuſtom of electing them by private ballot:—a method more favourable to liberty, and better calculated to enſure a good choice. He cauſed a law to be paſſed alſo, by which it was enacted that whoever entered the general aſſembly armed, even though by miſtake, ſhould be put to death. An alarm being given at the gates of Syracuſe, a report was ſpread that the enemy were cloſe to the walls. Diocles armed himſelf to repel them; and without reflecting paſſed through the fatal place. Some of the members obſerved to him that he had his ſword by his ſide, and had violated the law: "I ſhall "puniſh myſelf for it," replied he; and immediately put an end to his exiſtence. On account of this action, a ſtatue was erected to his memory.

It is not exactly known when this event took place; but about the ſame period he was an antagoniſt of Hermocrates, whom he cauſed to be baniſhed on a ſuſpicion of his affecting the ſovereign

authority. His friends in vain remonſtrated that his merit alone had induced ſome envious perſons to incenſe the multitude againſt him. As they were not able to obtain his recal, they adviſed him to procure it by force: Hermocrates collected an army; but in conſequence of its being too weak, he was defeated and killed. All his partiſans, among whom was Dionyſius, ſurnamed the Tyrant, were condemned to perpetual exile.

Agrigentum. Allured by the hopes of more booty, the Carthaginians returned to Sicily, ſtill with three hundred thouſand men, raiſed in Africa, according to the hiſtorians, and attacked Agrigentum, the moſt opulent city of Sicily, next to Syracuſe. The exploits of theſe hordes of barbarians thrown into this unfortunate iſland, and the circumſtances which attended them, have all a reſemblance to each other: —a defence more than human on the part of the beſieged; the aſſailants ſucceſsful by their multitude, and delighting in the cruel and horrid pleaſure, if I may uſe the expreſſion, of glutting themſelves with human blood. The ſiege of Agrigentum was accompanied with ſome remarkable events. At the commencement of it, the inhabitants, during a ſally, burnt the machines of the beſiegers, and made a prodigious ſlaughter. The Carthaginians, to ſupply the place of their machines, demoliſhed the tombs around the city, and with the materials of them raiſed terraces equal in height to the walls. The plague, which after-

wards broke out in their camp, might be ſuppoſed to have ariſen from the putrid exhalation of the bodies they uncovered; but the ſoothſayers declared that it was a puniſhment from the gods for violating the repoſitories of the dead. The army offered up prayers; a child was ſacrificed to Saturn; and to appeaſe Neptune, ſeveral of the prieſts were thrown into the ſea. This was violating, almoſt on the very ſpot, the law impoſed by Gelo on the Carthaginians, that they ſhould not make uſe of human ſacrifices.

The plague was followed by a famine, from which the Carthaginians, after feeling its effects in a ſevere manner, were relieved by intercepting a convoy of corn deſtined for the Agrigentines. This ſcourge then fell upon the city; and the council, reduced to the alternative of periſhing by hunger, or of going to find certain death in the enemy's camp, determined on a mean courſe, ſtill painful, which was to abandon the place. As ſoon as this reſolution was made public, cries of lamentation were heard to proceed from every houſe. Words can hardly expreſs the melancholy and dejection into which the citizens were thrown. To loſe in a moment the fruits of all their labours; their property, their riches, and their country; and to leave to the mercy of the cruel Carthaginians the aged, the ſick, and the infirm, filled them with anguiſh and regret. Several who could not reſolve to abandon their relations and friends, remained to pay them

the laſt tribute of affection, and to die along with them. Their diſmal intention was ſoon accompliſhed. The Carthaginians ſpared neither age nor ſex; not even thoſe who had taken refuge in the temples. They found immenſe riches, a prodigious number of paintings, vaſes, and ſtatues, the workmanſhip of the greateſt maſters, and every thing that can be imagined, in this city, one of the moſt opulent ever ſubjected to rapine, or even beſieged.

Dionyſius, 2600. There were Syracuſan troops in Agrigentum, who protected the departure of the voluntary exiles, and who accompanied ſome of them to Gela, and others to Syracuſe, where they met with a generous reception. They were admitted to participate in all the privileges of the citizens. This favour, however, did not prevent them from exclaiming loudly againſt the conduct of the Syracuſan troops, and particularly of their generals, or principal officers, who, they ſaid, had been gained over by the Carthaginians.

They were ſupported in their complaints by a young man named Dionyſius. It is not known whether he was of an illuſtrious family, or of mean extraction. It is, however, probable that his birth was not abſolutely obſcure, ſince he is enumerated among the partiſans of Hermocrates, and was even wounded in the battle fought by the latter at the gates of Syracuſe. He was ſaved from capital puniſhment by a report being ſpread of his death, and was not again permitted to appear, but on account

of the ſiege of Agrigentum, in which he had a ſhare. Dionyſius diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner in the only important action which took place, under the walls of the city. He had fought for the unfortunate inhabitants, and he pleaded their cauſe. He not only blamed the generals, but he accuſed the magiſtrates of having ſuffered themſelves to be bribed, and of keeping up a correſpondence with the Carthaginians, in order that, by their aſſiſtance, they might be enabled to concentrate the ſovereign authority in the magiſtracy, and to eſtabliſh oligarchy, that is to ſay, the power of the few. What may not the people be made to believe, when their paſſions are flattered, and, in particular, that jealouſy which naturally excites them againſt the rich! Their minds were ſo much inflamed by the ſpeech of Dionyſius, that the commanders of the troops were immediately depoſed, and others appointed in their ſtead, among whom was Dionyſius, now as much the object of the people's love, as he had before been of hatred and perſecution. His conduct exhibited, without any interludes, forms a kind of drama, the principal perſonage of which hurries on the events, and carries them rapidly forwards towards the concluſion in a very remarkable manner.

Dionyſius, bold and eloquent, braved his colleagues; oppoſed them in the council; rendered their deſigns ſuſpected; and ſhewed repugnance to ſerve with men who paid more attention to their

own private intereſt than to that of the public. He was apprehenſive, he ſaid, of their treachery, if he communicated to them his plans of attack and defence. On the other hand, he amuſed the people by his ſpecious harangues, and won their affection ſo far, that the ſenate began to be afraid of his influence, and propoſed to interdict him from ſpeaking in public. There was a law which forbade thoſe to harangue, who, after being condemned to pay a fine, had not diſcharged the debt. Dionyſius was accuſed, therefore, as a diſturber of the public peace, and ſubjected to ſo heavy a fine that he was unable to pay it; but a rich citizen paid it for him, and promiſed to do the ſame thing as often as there ſhould be occaſion.

Supported by this treaſure, Dionyſius renewed his harangues. As it was thought expedient to levy a body of troops to augment that which had returned from Agrigentum, in order to make a vigorous effort againſt the Carthaginians, a new tax was propoſed on the people, to defray the expenſe. On this occaſion, Dionyſius ſaid: "What need is "there to bring troops from Italy and Peloponeſus, "at a great expenſe, while we have countrymen, "baniſhed by the rich, who wiſh to be recalled, "and who will be glad to purchaſe that happineſs "by gratuitous ſervice?" This meaſure was approved; the exiles were recalled, and became ſo many partiſans devoted to Dionyſius.

Having learned that there were ſome commo-

tions in Gela, an important town, and fearing that the Carthaginians would take advantage of the diſcord of the citizens to get poſſeſſion of it, Dionyſius, always active, haſtened thither with a conſiderable body of troops. He declared that the pretenſions of the nobility were extravagant; put to death all thoſe who oppoſed the multitude; and, becoming judge in his own cauſe, confiſcated their property, diſtributed a great part of it among his ſoldiers, and promiſed them a double ſhare of the reſt. When he arrived at Syracuſe, the people were coming out from the theatre, and all crowding around him, requeſted to know what were the news reſpecting the Carthaginians: "Carthagi-" nians!" replied he, "Syracuſe has enemies far " more dangerous; your generals, your magiſ-" trates, who, inſtead of making preparations for " your defenſe, amuſe you with vain ſpectacles, " and ſuffer your troops to be in want of neceſſa-" ries, while they employ the money for their own " private uſe. I have long ſuſpected the cauſe of " this conduct; but, at preſent, I have more certain " grounds than mere conjecture. Himilco, the Car-" thaginian general, under the pretence of an ex-" change of priſoners, ſent to me an officer, whoſe " real object was to beg that, if I did not chooſe to " enter into the views of my colleagues, I would, " at leaſt, not examine their conduct too cloſely. " I will no longer ſerve with traitors, and I now " declare that I give in my reſignation."

The people having aſſembled next day, thoſe moſt diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom propoſed to examine the denunciation of Dionyſius againſt his colleagues; but a voice cried out, that they might enter into that enquiry at a future period; that the moſt urgent and moſt important buſineſs was to chooſe an able general to oppoſe the three hundred thouſand Carthaginians, by whom they were threatened; and that it was in a ſimilar conjuncture that Gelo had been declared generaliſſimo. This example determined the multitude. Dionyſius was proclaimed generaliſſimo, and he immediately cauſed double pay to be voted to the ſoldiers. Under the pretence of a ſecret expedition, he publiſhed an order requiring all the exiles and others who might chooſe to become volunteers to repair to Leontium, a town belonging to the Syracuſans, together with proviſions for thirty days. He proceeded thither himſelf at the head of the ſoldiers, whom he had enriched by double pay, and with this body encamped in a plain near the city. During the night, a great noiſe was heard around the tents; Dionyſius fled, as if in confuſion, towards the city, crying out that an attempt had been made againſt his life; he was followed by his ſoldiers; the exiles and others who had aſſembled at Leontium, flocked around him, and they all declared that they ought, without delay, to provide for the ſafety of a man ſo valuable to the ſtate. Six hundred guards being voted for his defenſe, he immediately choſe a thou-

ſand; ſent a meſſage to the garriſon left in Gela, who formed part of his firſt ſoldiers, to join him; and, preceded by this eſcort, entered Syracuſe, took poſſeſſion of the citadel, and having cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, at the age of twenty-five, condemned to death his principal adverſaries, and concluded with a double marriage between himſelf and the daughter of Hermocrates, whoſe intereſts he had formerly ſupported at the price of his blood, and between his own ſiſter and Polyxenus, the brother-in-law of Hermocrates.

Dionyſius found it much more difficult to preſerve royalty than to acquire it. The hiſtory of his life is ſufficient to deter thoſe who might be tempted to elevate a throne to their ambition, without reflecting that a thouſand arms are always ready to ſhake it, and that the ſteps which conduct to it are always covered with blood. The firſt check which he experienced from the Carthaginians gave riſe to a report that a ſecret underſtanding prevailed between them. The people, always fickle and inconſtant, gave credit to this imputation, and uniting with his enemies, ſhut him up in a part of the city, where he had to ſuſtain ſeveral attacks. By prolonging his defenſe, he gave time for the arrival of foreign troops to aſſiſt him; and the Carthaginians even ſeem to have favoured his views, by accepting peace. A new inſurrection, however, threw him into ſuch a cruel

ſtate of embarraſſment, that he deliberated with his friends, not whether he ſhould put himſelf to death, but in what manner. One of them adviſed him to live to reign, and not to renounce the crown but with his life. This opinion was ſeconded by the arrival of a body of foreign troops, who forced their way to the place where he was blockaded. With this aſſiſtance he made a ſally on the Syracuſans, killed a great number of them, and took care to cauſe the dead to be interred. Every heart was affected by this act of religion. The arms, it may be ſaid, dropped from the hands of the inhabitants; and for the greater ſecurity, he ordered them to be taken away. There was only one body of cavalry, compoſed as appears of the principal citizens, whom he was not able to gain over to his cauſe.

To occupy the attention of the people, Dionyſius again declared war againſt the Carthaginians, who, on their part, put themſelves in a formidable ſtate of defenſe. He took from them the moſt important of all the towns they poſſeſſed in Sicily; but, notwithſtanding this loſs, they appeared before Syracuſe, to which they laid ſiege. In the ſame manner as when before Agrigentum, they demoliſhed the tombs, and made uſe of their ruins to favour their approach. As at Agrigentum, alſo, they were attacked by the plague; but they were, this time, convinced that it was occaſioned by the infection of the bodies they had diſinterred,

as well as of thoſe which they had not had leiſure to bury.

While the Carthaginians were thus periſhing, Dionyſius found himſelf expoſed to the moſt urgent danger he had ever perhaps incurred. Having proceeded with a detachment from the fleet, in queſt of proviſions, the Syracuſans during his abſence gained ſome advantage. On his return, Dionyſius called the people forth without the gates to congratulate them on their ſucceſs, and promiſed to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion, and to deliver them from all their enemies. "It is in "your power," replied Theodorus, a very reſpectable citizen: "you have nothing to do but to "reſign your command, and to reſtore us to li- "berty; for even if you procure us victory, what "purpoſe will it anſwer, but that of rendering us "the ſlaves of a domeſtic tyrant? Should fortune "declare for the Carthaginians, they will demand "tribute from us, and ſuffer us to live according "to their laws; but if Dionyſius remains maſter, "he will plunder our temples and houſes; will "ſeize on our lands, and ſport with our lives, and "every thing we hold dear. Let us get rid of an "enemy whom we harbour in our boſom, before "we think of repelling a foreign and much leſs "dangerous foe. Having recently put to flight "thouſands of men, ſhall we now be afraid of "one? We are poſſeſſed of arms, and againſt "whom can we better employ them than againſt

" a tyrant? If Dionyſius conſents to abdicate, let " us open our gates to him; if he refuſes to reſign " his uſurped authority, let him experience what " can be effected by the love of liberty in generous " minds." The aſſembly remained as if ſuſpended between hope and fear, and every eye was fixed on Pharacidas, who commanded a body of Lacedemonians ſent to the relief of Syracuſe. Who could have thought that a Spartan would declare againſt liberty? He, however, declared that he had come to aſſiſt the Syracuſans and Dionyſius; not to make war on the latter, and deſtroy his authority. This declaration ſilenced the orator; the tyrant's guards arrived, and the aſſembly diſperſed.

He had cenſors of his conduct, even in his own family, whom in his vengeance he ſpared as little as he did others. Polyxenus, the huſband of his ſiſter Theſta, having been obliged to fly to Italy, Dionyſius reproached her becauſe ſhe had not informed him of his intention: " Do you believe " me then," replied ſhe, " ſo baſe a wife, that had " I known of my huſband's deſign to eſcape, I " would not have done every thing in my power " to accompany him? I was not acquainted with " his deſign; but had he informed me of it, I " ſhould have ſhared with him in his dangers " and misfortunes. I ſhould have thought my- " ſelf much happier to be called the wife of Po- " lyxenus the exile, than of Dionyſius the tyrant."

The Carthaginians, exhauſted by the plague,

were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Dionyſius ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted, on condition of his receiving a large ſum which was paid to him. With a view to give employment to the Syracuſans, he turned his arms againſt Italy. Rhegium, a ſtrong city, had excited his reſentment by refuſing to grant him one of its female citizens in marriage, and by adding to this refuſal inſulting language. The city withſtood his attack, but was overcome by famine. Dionyſius behaved to the inhabitants with his uſual inhumanity; but it was particularly diſplayed in his treatment of their chief, who had defended himſelf with great bravery. He cauſed his ſon to be thrown into the ſea. In regard to the father, he ordered him to be made faſt to the extremity of one of the higheſt machines, and when in that ſtate, to be told that his ſon had been drowned the preceding evening: "Well," ſaid the unfortunate man, "my ſon has been happier than "I by one day." He was untied, and led through the city, ſcourged with rods, and expoſed to a thouſand inſults, while a herald walked before him, crying out, "Such is the puniſhment of the perfi- "dious wretch who excited to war the inhabitants "of Rhegium." "Say rather," exclaimed Phyto, "that I am thus treated becauſe I would not "betray my country into the hands of the tyrant." This ſpectacle, contrary to what Dionyſius intended, produced a conſiderable effect on the ſoldiers; and,

for fear leſt they ſhould deliver the unhappy object of his vengeance, he cauſed him to be inſtantly thrown into the ſea.

We are juſtified in obſerving, that no act of clemency eſcaped from Dionyſius, but through intereſt. It would appear that inhumanity was natural to him. He did not, however, ſeem to take delight in puniſhments, like Phalaris, and many others; but he accounted the lives of men as nothing, and he gave orders for the death of an enemy, or man who had only excited his ſuſpicion, the maſſacre of a troop, or the burning of a town, as if they had been common events, at which people ought not even to be aſtoniſhed. But no one was more attached to life, if we may judge by the precautions which he took to preſerve his own. He was ſo afraid of ſuffering the people to approach him, that he never harangued them but from the top of a tower. No perſon, not even his brothers or ſons, was admitted into his preſence without being ſearched; and he never went into the apartment of his women until every corner of it had been carefully examined. Beſides locks and bolts, he was protected by a foſs and a draw-bridge. The leaſt noiſe in the ſtreets, or in his palace, made him tremble. Thoſe perſonal ſervices, in regard to cleanlineſs, which he could not perform for himſelf, he required from his daughters, but only when they were children. So many precautions, if the account be not exag-

gerated, proves how miſerable muſt be the life of him, who having done injury to all, has to dread all.

Such a ſtate of terror is capable of poiſoning the greateſt pleaſures. Dionyſius proved this on one of his courtiers, named Damocles, who, charmed with the proſperity which the tyrant enjoyed—abſolute power, riches, and magnificent palaces—was continually extolling his happineſs. "Will you "taſte it for one day?" ſaid Dionyſius. Damocles having conſented, was invited to dine at the table of the tyrant, and placed on a golden couch, covered with tapeſtry richly embroidered. The table was loaded with the moſt exquiſite viands, and ſurrounded by ſlaves of uncommon beauty, magnificently clad, and attentive to ſerve the gueſts on the leaſt ſignal. The courtier was overwhelmed with joy, and confeſſed he ſhould think himſelf happy, if he could always depend on the ſame felicity. But at the moment when raiſed to the ſummit of enjoyment, amidſt the voluptuouſneſs of theſe pleaſures, having obſerved a ſword ſuſpended over his head by a ſingle hair, he became covered with a cold ſweat, and every thing but the ſword vaniſhed from his ſight. He earneſtly begged that he might be permitted to retire; and declared that he would renounce for ever ſuch pleaſure.

The trial to which Damocles had been ſubjected evidently ſhews that Dionyſius was not blind in regard to his own condition. He ſometimes endeavoured to divert his attention from it, by the ſo-

ciety of men of genius; but there was no depending on his favour. He invited to his court the celebrated Plato; and on account of one word ſpoken by the philoſopher which gave him offence, he cauſed him to be ſold in the market as a ſlave. He imagined himſelf to be a great poet, and often recited verſes with much condeſcenſion. Philoxenus, one of his courtiers, found by experience that it was dangerous not to applaud his talents. He had the boldneſs not only to liſten to him with indifference, but even to criticiſe his compoſition. Dionyſius ſent him to the quarries, which were the public priſon; but on the interceſſion of his friends he pardoned him next morning, and to ſeal the reconciliation invited him to dinner. The tyrant, convinced that the critic, after the hint he had received, would be more circumſpect, began to recite ſome of his verſes. "What do you think of "them?" ſaid he to his gueſt. Philoxenus, turning calmly round towards the ſlaves, replied: "Let "me be carried back to the quarries." On this occaſion, Dionyſius laughed at his anſwer, and forgave him.

The love of poetry in Dionyſius was not taſte, it was paſſion. He contended for the prize at Athens; and ſhewed more ſatisfaction when he gained it, than he ever had done on account of his greateſt victories. He was indifferent in regard to no kind of glory. He was ambitious of being crowned at the Olympic games; and vexation,

when disappointed, threw him, for some time, into a real state of melancholy. Some of his witticisms respecting the gods have been recorded. After an expedition, which had been attended with success, though he had plundered the temple of Proserpine, he said: "Behold how the immortal gods favour "the sacrilegious." Having taken from the statue of Jupiter a cloak of massy gold, he observed: "It is too heavy for summer, and too cold for "winter." Several of the statues of the gods held in their hands cups and crowns of gold: these Dionysius seized, saying: "I have only accepted "what they offered. It would be very foolish to "be continually importuning the gods for riches, "and then to refuse when they stretch forth their "hands to give them." These spoils being sold, according to his order, by public auction, he issued a proclamation next day, that all those who had in their possession any thing belonging to the immortal gods should immediately restore it; but he did not return the money, which occasioned a loss to those who had purchased.

Dionysius the younger. D.ON.

Dionysius the tyrant died a natural death. He has been surnamed the elder, to distinguish him from his son Dionysius the younger, by whom he was succeeded. A firm and absolute king was followed by a prince weak and irresolute. He was courted by two cabals; one clothing itself with austerity and wisdom, the other presenting the allurements of pleasure. He at first yielded to the latter.

Dionyſius having eſcaped from the reſtraint, impoſed on him by a gloomy father, abandoned himſelf without meaſure to the licentiouſneſs of a diſſolute life. Exceſs produced its own cure. Dion, the brother of Ariſtomache, the wife of Dionyſius the elder, a diſciple and friend of Plato, made the young prince aſhamed of a conduct which was calculated to render him contemptible to his ſubjects. He induced him to baniſh the accomplices of his debaucheries, and adviſed him to recal Plato. The philoſopher, forgetting the bad treatment he had experienced from his father, condeſcended to expoſe himſelf to the ingratitude of the ſon; but he ſoon repented of his compliance. Through inſinuations, invented by that cabal of courtiers whom Dion had cauſed to be diſgraced, he was himſelf diſgraced in turn, and Plato was confined in the citadel. Some days after, he had permiſſion to retire.

The ſyſtem of every prevailing faction, which conſiſts in carrying things to the utmoſt extremity, and rendering their partiſans irreconcilable with their adverſaries, was then ſeen to unfold itſelf. All Dion's friends were perſecuted, and he himſelf would have experienced the like fate, had he not retired to Athens, to which he was followed by Plato. Dionyſius pretended to be ſorry for his unjuſt conduct towards the philoſopher; and he employed his friends to endeavour to prevail on him to return. They held forth to him the flattering hope that he might be able to effect a reconciliation between Dion and Dionyſius. Plato was not able

to reſiſt this temptation. He accordingly returned; but when he began to ſpeak of the kind of engagement which had been entered into with him, and of the recal of his friend, he found matters entirely changed. Dionyſius had gained a victory, which prevented him from fearing his uncle, and Plato's interceſſion met with a bad reception. For the third time, he was not only baniſhed from court, but expoſed to the danger of loſing his life.

His departure, permiſſion for which he obtained with difficulty, was the ſignal for oppreſſion of every kind in regard to Dion. He was refuſed the revenue ariſing from his property, which Dionyſius, when he diſmiſſed him, had promiſed to ſuffer him to enjoy; and he carried his outrage ſo far as to compel Arete, his wife, who was much beloved by her huſband, to eſpouſe Timocrates, one of his flatterers. All theſe provocations incenſed Dion, who, perhaps, might have otherwiſe remained quiet at Athens with his friends. He collected a ſmall band, compoſed of brave and reſolute men, and arriving at Syracuſe while Dionyſius was engaged with the war in Italy, gave out that he had come, not to avenge his own private wrongs, but to emancipate Syracuſe and Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant. Under this ſtandard of liberty, Dion got poſſeſſion of the greater part of the city. The citadel was guarded by the troops of the tyrant, who having returned, a battle took place between him and Dion, in which the latter was wounded, and

narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of Dionyſius. He was ſaved by the Syracuſans; but they were ſoon diſguſted with their hero, at the inſtigation of Heraclides, one of Dion's generals, who had found means to ſupplant him in the minds of the people. Heraclides attacked his commander, who, unwilling to defend himſelf againſt thoſe he had delivered, choſe rather to quit the city with his troops. Dionyſius, on the other hand, had gone to Italy to procure ſuccours, and left the citadel to the care of his ſon Apollocrates.

He endured there the utmoſt extremity of famine, waiting with patience for an opportunity of attacking the city. This opportunity ſoon occurred, by the diviſions which prevailed in it. During the troubles, military diſcipline had been greatly relaxed, and a ſmall victory, gained by the Syracuſans, cauſed it to be almoſt entirely neglected. The garriſon, taking advantage of a feſtival held by the conquerors, ſallied forth from the citadel to the number of ten thouſand, cut to pieces thoſe whom they met, and ſpread the utmoſt terror among the inhabitants, who all then cried out—"Where is Dion?" Deputies were diſpatched to beg him to return: it was now time; Nypſius who commanded the garriſon had juſt made a ſucceſsful attack. The ſtreets and public ſquares were ſtrewed with the bodies of the dead; and torrents of flames were riſing from the houſes. Behind this kind of rampart, the garriſon, poſted on a

breach made in the outer wall, which defended the citadel, were waiting with intrepidity for the aſſault. It was indeed terrible. After a long reſiſtance, the garriſon being obliged to retire within, the citadel capitulated, and Dion entered it at the head of his troops.

His ſiſter Ariſtomache, who had been confined in it, came to meet him, together with his ſon, and his wife Arete, ſo cruelly torn from the object of her affection. The unfortunate woman ſtood trembling, and waited for her ſentence. "How ſhall "ſhe embrace you," ſaid Ariſtomache, when ſhe preſented her to her huſband; "as your ſpouſe? "or ſhall ſhe expire at your feet, without having "voluntarily violated that fidelity which ſhe ſwore "to maintain?" Dion, bathed in tears, embraced her with great tenderneſs, placed her ſon in her arms, and conducted her to his houſe. He then delivered up the citadel to the Syracuſans, and diſmiſſed his guards.

He now began to think of forming a government for his fellow-citizens. According to his plan, the ſupreme authority was to be veſted in a council, the members of which were to be choſen by the people and the nobility. This project was ſtill impeded by Heraclides, who had deprived Dion once before of the public favour. Haraſſed by the obſtacles which this man threw in the way of his deſigns, Dion permitted him to be put to death, and acknowledged the murder; but he afterwards

experienced regret and remorſe, which threw him into a deep melancholy. He aſcribed to the juſt vengeance of the gods the death of his ſon, who fell from the roof of a houſe, and was killed. He himſelf was puniſhed for this homicide by a violent death, being aſſaſſinated, in his own houſe, by his gueſt and friend Calippus, who aſpired at the ſovereignty. It would appear that Dion did not deign to avoid this misfortune, of which he had previous notice. His ſevere virtue, perhaps, made him conſider as a neceſſary expiation, the ſacrifice of a life which he had ſtained by a crime. The aſſaſſin derived little advantage from his treachery. He was expelled by Syracuſe, which he had for a moment ſubjected. He led a wandering and unfortunate life during ſome time, and was at length ſtabbed by two of Dion's partiſans, with the ſame dagger which he had employed to aſſaſſinate his friend. The unfortunate Arete, firſt torn from the arms of a huſband whom ſhe loved—conſigned to an involuntary marriage—reſtored to her huſband —obliged to lament the fatal death of a ſon, and involved in mourning by that of her ſpouſe, fell into the hands of Icetas, the tyrant of Leontium, another perfidious friend of Dion. To get rid of a uſeleſs widow, he ſent her on board a veſſel, giving orders that ſhe ſhould be put to death, and thrown into the ſea, which was accordingly executed. How melancholy is the fate of ſome perſons in the world!

The death of Dion, and the flight of Calippus, recalled Dionyſius to Syracuſe. The citizens oppoſed to him Icetas, already mentioned. They truſted that they ſhould be able to employ the power and talents of the latter againſt the Carthaginians, who again threatened them; but they diſcovered that Icetas, abuſing their confidence, had made a ſecret treaty with theſe people, by which they engaged to render him maſter of Syracuſe. On his part, he promiſed not to oppoſe their conqueſts in Sicily. Alarmed at this treachery, the Syracuſans ſent to beg aſſiſtance at Corinth, from which they pretended to have derived their origin. The deputies were well received, and the Corinthians agreed to comply with their requeſt.

Timoleon. 2658.

There reſided in the neighbourhood of Corinth a man named Timoleon, whoſe ardent zeal for liberty had induced him to commit an atrocious crime on his brother. This brother Timoleon had loved with the tendereſt affection; he had even ſaved his life in a battle, but his country was ſtill dearer. Having learned by too certain evidence that he aimed at the ſovereignty of Corinth, and as all his efforts to prevent him from proſecuting his deſign were of no avail, he cauſed him to be put to death in his preſence. The principal inhabitants praiſed this action as an admirable inſtance of heroiſm. Others condemned it as a deteſtable crime,

which deſerved to call down the vengeance of the gods on him and his family. His mother, when he went to offer her conſolation, loaded him with curſes, and refuſed to ſee him. The deſpair of his mother filled him with horror, and conſidering himſelf as a criminal devoted to death, he reſolved to abſtain from all nouriſhment. His friends had great difficulty to divert him from this fatal reſolution: but though he at length gave way to their entreaties, he condemned himſelf to paſs the remainder of his days in ſolitude. He renounced public affairs; withdrew from the city; and for twenty years inhabited the moſt deſert places, always a prey to the deepeſt melancholy. At the end of that period he returned to Corinth; but he lived there as a plain individual, always retired, and without interfering in the government.

A plan was in agitation to deliver Syracuſe from a tyrant, and perhaps to free many more of the cities of Sicily from thoſe by whom they were governed. It was thought that no fitter perſon could be choſen for this expedition, than a man who had ſhewn ſo great averſion to tyranny. The Corinthians appointed him chief of the enterprize; but with ſo few troops, that it appeared as if they had depended on him alone. At firſt, indeed, ſtratagem was of more ſervice to him than force. He deceived the Carthaginians who blocked up his paſſage, and ſurpriſed Icetas, who flattered himſelf with the hopes of being able to retard his progreſs

by deluſive propoſals. Icetas was maſter of the city; the Carthaginian admiral of the ports; and Dionyſius of the citadel. The laſt being reduced to the utmoſt extremity, Timoleon reſolved to treat with him rather than with any of the reſt. He ſuffered him to carry away part of his treaſures, and cauſed him to be eſcorted to Corinth, which ſerved him as an aſylum. It is ſaid that he ruined himſelf with perfumers, comedians, and ſingers; and that to procure ſubſiſtence he was obliged to open a ſchool. Cicero aſſerts that he choſe this condition, that he might exerciſe, at leaſt, over children, that tyranny which he could no longer exerciſe over men.

Timoleon, inſtead of ſhutting himſelf up in the citadel, left there four hundred Corinthians, under an able commander named Leon. He was cloſely blockaded by Icetas and the Carthaginians united; but when the latter were expecting to overcome Leon by famine, he ſurprized one of the quarters of the city, where he made a vigorous defence. At the ſame time Timoleon, having received a reinforcement, offered battle to the allies, and found means to debauch a part of their troops. The Carthaginian general, alarmed at this deſertion, went on board his veſſels and fled. Icetas ſuſtained in the city a kind of aſſault; that is to ſay, his ſoldiers appeared on the ramparts, and abandoned them. He retired with them, and Timoleon took poſſeſſion of the place.

Next morning he invited the inhabitants, by the ſound of trumpet, to aſſemble with proper implements to demoliſh the citadel, and the other fortreſſes, which he called the *tyrant's neſts*. They flocked thither in crowds, raſed the walls, the palaces, and even the tombs, and every thing that could remind them of tyranny. On the ſite where they had ſtood, Timoleon cauſed to be erected public edifices, deſtined for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He then employed himſelf in repeopling Syracuſe, which by the late troubles had been reduced to a moſt deplorable condition. The exiles returned. Some of them arrived from all parts of Sicily, Italy, and Greece. In concert with two legiſlators, who had been ſent to Sicily by the Corinthians, Timoleon formed new laws, the baſis of which was the democratic government, under the preſidency of an annual magiſtrate.

After having as it may be ſaid revived Syracuſe, Timoleon overran the iſland as a conqueror, ſubdued the tyrants of ſeveral cities, and ſent them to Corinth to be companions to Dionyſius. His laſt exploit was the defeat of the Carthaginians, who again made their appearance in Sicily. If he was not able to expel them, he confined them to a part of the country where they were incapable of doing hurt to the Syracuſans. Icetas, the murderer of the unfortunate Arete, the wife of Dion, did not eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes. He was killed, together with his ſon; and his wife and

daughter were facrificed by the Syracufans to the manes of Arete.

If the greater part of Timoleon's life was poifoned by the remembrance of his brother's death, he fpent the laft years of it in the enjoyment of the fweeteft tranquillity. The Syracufans, as a mark of their gratitude for his fervices, gave him the moft beautiful houfe in the city, and a magnificent country feat, to which he retired with his wife and children, whom he fent for to Corinth. It was there that he fpent the remainder of his days, with the confcious happinefs of having procured felicity to fo many cities. In his old age he loft his fight, and this misfortune gave the Syracufans an opportunity of teftifying their eſteem and refpect for his virtues. They paid him frequent vifits, and introduced to him the ftrangers who paffed through their city, in order that they might be gratified with the pleafure of beholding their benefactor and deliverer. In affairs of importance they never failed to confult him, and to follow his advice. He generally arrived in a car, and was conducted into the aſſembly amidft fhouts of joy from all the people, who accompanied him even beyond the gates with the fame acclamations. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of his funeral. The Syracufans deftined a conſiderable fum to defray the expences of it; but the tears and benedictions with which all the citizens honoured his memory were the nobleft ornament of the train. An order was iſſued that the

day of his death ſhould be kept in remembrance by a ſolemn feſtival; and that every time Syracuſe was at war with the barbarians it ſhould requeſt a general from Corinth.

Agathocles. 2652.

In a city compoſed of ſo many nations, it is more aſtoniſhing that the peace of Timoleon ſhould have endured a conſiderable time, than to ſee it broken at the end of twenty years. This took place amidſt the troubles excited by Agathocles, the moſt cruel tyrant under whom Syracuſe ever groaned. He was the ſon of a potter; poſſeſſed extraordinary beauty, with a moſt elegant figure, and as he grew up acquired prodigious ſtrength, to which his bravery was not inferior. No ſoldier could wield heavier arms; and no one was more enterprizing when an opportunity offered. He gained the friendſhip and eſteem of a rich Syracuſan named Demas, who being elected chief of the Agrigentines did not forget his favourite: he gave him the command of a thouſand men. He had, no doubt, been beheld with a favourable eye by the wife of his protector, ſince ſhe married him after her huſband's death, and put him in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable property.

Syracuſe was then ſubject to a tyrant named Soſiſtratus, to whom Demas had been an object of ſuſpicion. As his ſucceſſor gave him no leſs uneaſineſs, he attempted to get him aſſaſſinated; but Agathocles eſcaped by a ſtratagem, and went to try his fortune in ſome other country. He diſplayed

his ambitious views in two cities of Italy, from which he was expelled; and whether it was that Sofiſtratus purſued him to his places of retreat, or that chance oppoſed them to each other, they were engaged in a bloody battle, from which Agathocles came off conqueror. By a ſeries of misfortunes, Sofiſtratus was driven from Syracuſe, with ſeven hundred of the principal citizens, who were ſuſpected of a deſign to ſubſtitute oligarchy in the room of democracy. Sofiſtratus was ſeconded by the Carthaginians who threatened Syracuſe. A victory already obtained over him by Agathocles, determined the Syracuſans to give the latter the command of their forces. He defeated the combined armies of Sofiſtratus and the Carthaginians, and received ſeven wounds in the combat. The credit, which ſo marked a devotion to the intereſts of the city gave him among the inhabitants, made him venture on a few acts of ſovereignty; but the minds of the people not being ſufficiently prepared, he loſt the generalſhip, which was transferred to a Corinthian.

Meaſures were even concerted for deſtroying him, but he ſaved himſelf from a plot ſo well laid, that he was already believed to be dead. While the Syracuſans placed great confidenee in this report, he re-appeared under their walls at the head of a ſtrong army, which he had collected in the heart of Sicily. A negociation then took place, in conſequence of which the inhabitants conſented to

receive Agathocles if he would diſmiſs his troops, and promiſe to make no attempt againſt the democracy. He bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to maintain the intereſts of the people. This was a kind of engagement againſt the ſenate, which conſiſted of ſix hundred of the principal citizens. Agathocles had made his ſoldiers diſperſe: but in ſuch a manner that he could eaſily find them when he might have occaſion for them. Under the pretence of a war with Erbita, a neighbouring city, he got himſelf appointed commander-in-chief. Being thus authorized to collect troops, Agathocles ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, after which he made no ſecret of his views.

"Before you turn your arms againſt Erbita," ſaid he to his ſoldiers, "you ought to think of de-
"livering Syracuſe from thoſe ſix hundred tyrants,
"more dangerous than the inhabitants of Erbita and
"the Carthaginians. Syracuſe will never be at peace
"while they are in life; and not only they but all
"their partiſans." This was authorizing his ſoldiers, who were almoſt all the dregs of the people, to maſſacre the whole body of the nobility. To encourage them, he devoted to pillage the property of thoſe who ſhould be killed. After this harangue, Agathocles having given the ſignal, the ſoldiers butchered every one they met, without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. In a few hours, more than four thouſand perſons fell a ſacrifice to their murderous blows.

To Agathocles all this, however, was insufficient. He wished not merely to exterminate the nobility, but to leave only a small number of citizens in easy circumstances, that he might govern them with greater facility. With this view, he ordered the pillage and massacre to be continued two days longer, after which he assembled those who had survived this butchery, and addressed them in the following words: "As the evil was great, the application "of a violent remedy was necessary. My only "object was to re-establish democracy, and to "emancipate the city from the yoke of a few ty-"rannical magistrates. I now mean to live in "tranquillity, and to retire." Most of those who heard him were accomplices in his cruelties, and they were perfectly sensible that they could not secure impunity but by entrusting the sovereign power to the first author of the massacre. They all, therefore, begged him to assume absolute authority, and proclaimed him king.

His first law was the abolition of debts, and an equal division of the lands between the poor and the rich. Thus the nobility found themselves on a level with the dregs of the people, whose firm attachment he by these means secured to his revolution. When it was fully accomplished, he became more just and humane, enacted wise laws, and maintained himself on the throne by the conquest of all Sicily, except the cities which belonged to the Carthaginians.

Though he reſpected the property of theſe ſtrangers, their ſucceſs gave him uneaſineſs. They ſent againſt him an army, under the command of Hamilcar. It was joined by the malcontents and his private enemies, and gained over him a complete victory, which obliged him to confine himſelf within Syracuſe. Reduced to this extremity, he conceived a project, which has been ſince imitated, but the whole honour of it belongs to him, as he was the firſt who deviſed it. He entruſted no one with his plan, and only exhorted the Syracuſans to ſuſtain the ſiege with patience, while he went in queſt of aſſiſtance; and having embarked ſome of his beſt troops, made ſail towards Africa, where he landed his army.

He was much embarraſſed in regard to the ſhips which compoſed his fleet. To leave a body to guard them would have weakened his army, already too ſmall for the project he intended; and to abandon them without defenſe would have been reſigning them to the Carthaginians, already maſters of the ſea. In this dilemma, Agathocles formed a reſolution worthy of ſuch an exalted and enterprizing genius—a reſolution, which when executed, would deprive his ſoldiers of all hope, and force them to conquer or die. He aſſembled them, after making the officers acquainted with his deſign, and addreſſing them, ſaid: "When we ſet out from Sy-
"racuſe, cloſely purſued by the enemy, I made a
"vow to Ceres and Proſerpine, the tutelary god-

" deſſes of Sicily, to burn all our ſhips if they " ſhould prevent us from falling into the hands of " the Carthaginians, and enable us to land ſafe in " Africa. Aid me, ſoldiers, to diſcharge my vow; " the deities will eaſily indemnify us for this ſa- " crifice." He then hurled a lighted torch into his own veſſel, and each captain did the ſame. The flames burſt forth on every ſide; the trumpets ſounded, and the whole ſhore re-echoed with ſhouts of joy: but when ſober reflexion reſumed its empire—when they began to think that they were ſeparated from their country by an immenſe ſea, in a hoſtile land, and without any means of leaving it, their tranſports of joy were ſucceeded by melancholy and dejection. Agathocles endeavoured to reanimate them by the view of the delightful country they were about to traverſe; and above all, by that of the great city, the ſuperb Carthage, the ſpoils of which could not eſcape them.

The inhabitants were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, and knew not what to think of this ſudden irruption. Was Hamilcar beaten? Were his troops annihilated? How had he ſuffered a whole army to paſs without ſtriking a blow? While loſt in conjectures, the Carthaginians diſpatched from the city a conſiderably army, commanded by Bomilcar and Hanno. Agathocles, whoſe intereſt it was to come to an engagement, attacked them without delay, and Hanno was killed in the action. Bomilcar carried off his wing without great loſs. He

was desirous of sparing his soldiers, that by their means he might get possession of the sovereign authority, the way to which had been opened for him by the death of his rival Hanno. Agathocles was indebted for his victory only to the valour of his troops, whom he had animated by a religious omen. At the commencement of the battle, he set at liberty some owls which he had taken care to provide, and as these birds, consecrated to Minerva, could not fly far in the open day, they naturally perched on the bucklers of the soldiers, who were wonderfully encouraged by this mark of the protection of the goddess.

Syracuse was still besieged, and even reduced to great extremity. Hamilcar, however, received several messages desiring him to return speedily to the relief of his country. But before he would abandon a prey, which he flattered himself with the hope of being ready to fall into his hands, he determined to try what could be effected by stratagem. Some pieces of iron belonging to the Syracusan vessels, found in the ashes, having been sent to him, he transmitted them to Syracuse, as a proof of the entire defeat of the king. Many gave credit to this assertion, and a great part of the inhabitants proposed to surrender; but the contrary opinion prevailed. Those who even inclined to capitulate, were expelled to the number of eight hundred, and were all received by Hamilcar. Agathocles, on his side, sent to Syracuse the head of Hanno; the fight

of which encouraged the inhabitants, and induced them to ſupport with ſucceſs a laſt aſſault. They afterwards made a ſally; entirely routed the Carthaginian army; took Hamilcar priſoner, and, in their turn, ſent his head to Agathocles. He was then encamped in front of the Carthaginians, who had procured reinforcements, but they were ſtruck with great terror when they beheld this ſpectacle.

Agathocles attacked them in every manner poſſible. He ſeduced their allies, and excited enemies againſt them. He tried, above all, to gain over Opellas, king of the Cyreneans, who had an army of twenty thouſand men well diſciplined. The Syracuſan gave him to underſtand, that as he poſſeſſed ſuch a beautiful kingdom as Sicily, he was far from entertaining any idea of eſtabliſhing himſelf at Carthage, and that he would enſure to him that throne, if he would unite his forces to his to deſtroy the inſolent republic. Ophellas ſuffered himſelf to be caught by this lure, and advanced with his troops in motion; but as ſoon as he arrived, Agathocles cauſed him to be put to death. This army, who were then without a chief, and at a diſtance from their own country, were obliged to ſubmit to the aſſaſſin of their king.

As the war was prolonged, Agathocles, impelled by his activity, reſolved to return to Sicily. He therefore gave the neceſſary orders, that nothing might ſuffer by his abſence; embarked with him two thouſand picked men, and arriving at Syra-

cuſe, put in order the government; deſtroyed a league which had been formed between ſeveral cities of the iſland for the purpoſe of ſhaking off his authority, and ſet out once more for Africa. On his return he found his affairs in a very different ſtate. His ſon Archagathus, with whom he left the command, had loſt a battle; and the army being in want of proviſions, the ſoldiers were ready to revolt. After a ſtrict inquiry into every department, Agathocles, indifferent in regard to others provided he could ſave himſelf, ſeeing no other reſource, determined to abandon his troops. His deſign being diſcovered, he was arreſted by his ſoldiers; but a tumult ſoon after taking place, he embraced that favourable opportunity to make his eſcape and put to ſea. The ſoldiers, in the firſt tranſport of their fury, maſſacred Archagathus, and another ſon whom Agathocles had left; elected chiefs for themſelves; and concluded a peace, one of the principal conditions of which was, that the Carthaginians ſhould tranſport them to Sicily, and aſſign to them Selinuntum as a habitation.

When Agathocles returned to Sicily, he attacked the Egeſtines who had revolted, took their city by aſſault, and put the inhabitants to the ſword: the nobility were alſo executed, but not till they had been ſubjected to the moſt cruel tortures. The remainder of the life of this tyrant is only an aſſemblage of crimes. When he received an account of the tragical fate of his children in Africa,

he ordered his brother Antandrus, governor of Syracuſe, to put to death all thoſe connected, either by the ties of blood or friendſhip, with the Syracuſans who had accompanied him in that expedition. The ſlaughter was dreadful. The ſtreets were inundated with blood; and the waters of the ſea cloſe to the walls were tinged of a red colour. All the relations of the ſoldiers of Africa, from the great grand-father to the child at the breaſt, were maſſacred.

This act of barbarity alienated the minds of the whole people. The enemies of the tyrant, who were exceedingly numerous, aſſembled under the command of an exile named Dinocrates, who, by his vices, was an adverſary worthy of Agathocles. The latter found himſelf compelled to ſue for peace. He offered to reſign the ſovereignty to Dinocrates, on condition of his being allowed to retain only two fortreſſes, where he might live in the boſom of tranquillity. Theſe propoſals were however rejected. Aſſuming ſtrength from deſpair, he then attacked the enemy in their camp, and diſperſed them. A detached body had retired to an eminence, where they propoſed to capitulate. Agathocles agreed to ſpare their lives, if they would ſurrender their arms; but as ſoon as they had given them up, he cauſed them to be ſurrounded, and all put to the ſword. Dinocrates, being a man of his own ſtamp, was ſaved. Agathocles admitted him into favour, and employed him in his affairs. His death.

After being king, the tyrant became pirate. He diſdained no occupation provided it was lucrative. Having overrun all the coaſts of Italy, where he found immenſe booty, he attacked the Lipari iſlands, the inhabitants of which led a peaceful life, without interfering in the affairs of their neighbours. He extorted from them a large ſum, and when he found that the iſlanders had no more money, he plundered their temples, and carried away the ſacred treaſures, and all their ornaments. It is not improbable that he then propoſed to enjoy in tranquillity the fruit of his crimes; but the vengeance of heaven awaited him, at the moſt brilliant moment of his proſperity. One Menon, whom he had treated with great cruelty, puniſhed him in the following manner. Having remarked that Agathocles after dinner cleaned his teeth with a quill, Menon dipped it in a poiſon ſo ſubtle that it deſtroyed his teeth and gums. His whole body became one wound; and when ſuffering under the moſt dreadful torment, he was carried to his funeral pile, which was ſet on fire even while he was ſtill alive. We are aſſured that during the laſt years of his life, he put to death more perſons than all the tyrants who had preceded him. If he poſſeſſed any valuable qualities, they are entirely effaced by his barbarous cruelty.

Among the troops of Agathocles there was a body of Mamertines, that is to ſay invincible warriors, who on the king's death repaired to Meſſana,

with a view of embarking there to return to Campania, their country. The Meſſanians received them as friends; and theſe ſoldiers finding a country agreeable to their taſte, a city commodious by its port, and proper for eſtabliſhing a republic, put to death the men, and married the women. They then endeavoured to augment their power, while that of Syracuſe was declining. From the hands of Agathocles, the government paſſed into thoſe of Menon his murderer, who was expelled by Hycetas. The latter took the modeſt title of prætor. While abſent on an expedition, for the purpoſe of again bringing the Agrigentines under the yoke, Tœnion deprived him of the ſovereign authority, which was diſputed with him by Soſiſtrates. Both theſe were chiefs of different factions; but being attacked by the Carthaginians, they in concert called in to their aſſiſtance Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who was then carrying on war againſt the Romans.

This prince was not ſorry to leave a theatre where his glory, which had been ſome time flouriſhing, began to fade. When he arrived, Tœnion and Soſiſtrates put into his hands the army, with the public treaſures, and the ſupreme authority. The people, for whom he had yet done nothing, received him with the livelieſt demonſtrations of joy. He won every heart by his inſinuating conduct and great affability. By his vigorous meaſures he again ſubdued thoſe cities which had thrown off the yoke, Pyrrhus.

and flattered the pride of the Syracuſans. Every town which he re-united to the republic, was a new ornament added to their crown. Every tongue dwelt on his praiſe, but being more politic than condeſcending, he reſolved, in order to deliver himſelf from the Carthaginians, to go and attack them in their own country. The Syracuſans wiſhed that he would firſt expel them from the whole iſland, and particularly Lilybæum, which ſtill afforded them a convenient port. They were diſpleaſed at his attachment to his plan; but his preparations, in which he employed their men and their riches, gave them ſtill greater offenſe. The other cities adopted the ſame ideas as the capital. In a little time, Pyrrhus found himſelf ſurrounded by malcontents, whoſe looks bore a threatening appearance. As he thought himſelf happy to quit Italy, where his affairs were in a tottering condition, on the invitation of the Sicilians, he readily embraced this opportunity of gratifying the wiſhes of the Italians, by which he was now recalled.

Hiero. 2738. He left Sicily in a deplorable ſtate of anarchy. The troops aſſumed the ſupreme authority, and appointed their own commanders, who by the circumſtances of the moment became the chiefs of the republic. One of them, named Hiero, was of an illuſtrious birth by the father's ſide, but his mother had been a ſlave. Conſiderable care had been beſtowed on his education, and he ſerved his firſt campaign under Pyrrhus. A handſome figure,

a robuſt conſtitution, extraordinary ſtrength, and the moſt ſignal bravery, with great judgement, mildneſs and application, procured him the notice and favour of that monarch; and he already enjoyed a diſtinguiſhed reputation when the prince quitted Sicily. By the moderation which he ſhewed in the exerciſe of the command conferred upon him by the troops, he acquired the eſteem of the citizens; and though they were diſpleaſed that the ſoldiers ſhould arrogate to themſelves the right of giving them a maſter, they confirmed their choice, and inveſted Hiero with the whole power, civil as well as military.

No one could reproach him, during the whole courſe of his life, but with one act of cruelty, which circumſtances rendered perhaps neceſſary. A part of the army was compoſed of foreigners, who had neither reſpect for their commanders, nor attachment to the ſtate, of which they formed no part, and who were always ready to revolt. They were ſo much united among themſelves, that if any attempt had been made to correct the moſt guilty, their puniſhment would have irritated all the reſt. It was, therefore, neceſſary either to endure every thing from them, or to get rid of them all at once. This Hiero found means to accompliſh. In an action with the Mamertines, ferocious and reſolute ſoldiers, he poſted the foreigners in the front of his army, and placed himſelf with the Syracuſans in the rear. The foreigners charged; the Mamertines

ſuſtained the ſhock with their uſual valour, and repulſed and purſued the aſſailants, who not being ſuccoured by the Syracuſans were cut to pieces.

Pyrrhus, on quitting Sicily, is ſaid to have exclaimed: "What a noble field of battle we leave "to the Carthaginians and the Romans!" Theſe two people, indeed, converted it into an arena, where they contended for the empire of the world. Hiero wavered between them for ſome time; but he at length firmly attached himſelf to the Romans. The unfortunate defeats which they ſuſtained at the lake Thraſymene, and at Cannæ, were not capable of ſhaking his conſtancy. He ſeveral times gave them an abundant ſupply of proviſions, and tranſmitted to them in Italy donations of corn. Hiero poſſeſſed the art of giving, which is often more agreeable than the gift itſelf. Suſpecting that the delicacy of the Romans might prevent them from accepting a conſiderable ſum of money, of which they had need, he converted it into a golden victory, and preſented it under that form. They received it as a valuable mark of friendſhip, and as a favorable omen, for which they returned him thanks. The Carthaginians themſelves experienced his generoſity during moments of ſcarcity; in a word, he ſent money, furniture, and clothes, to the Rhodians, whoſe houſes had been deſtroyed by an earthquake.

Hiſtorians ſpeak of a galley which he cauſed to be conſtructed, with twenty banks of oars, and

containing every thing that could be wiſhed for in a vaſt palace: three galleries, a hall of exerciſes, walks, gardens, where the earth was watered by the means of leaden pipes, a library, baths, a large reſervoir, eight towers either for attack or defence, a ſtrong baliſta, beſides external decorations, painting, gilding, ſculpture, and ornaments inlaid with the moſt beautiful kinds of wood, executed by the greateſt maſters. This veſſel was a preſent deſtined for Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. It was accompanied with ſixty thouſand buſhels of corn, twenty thouſand quintals of dried fleſh, ten thouſand large earthen vaſes, filled with ſalted fiſh, and an immenſe quantity of other proviſions.

But this galley, however wonderful it might be, if fame has not exaggerated, does not equal the wonder of his having rendered the people of Syracuſe tractable, and grateful for the tranquillity which he procured to them. Every germ of diſcord was ſuppreſſed by the prudence of Hiero. The ſoldiers and citizens conſidered him as their protector and father, rather than their ſovereign. He endeavoured, in a particular manner, to render agriculture honourable, and did not diſdain to write upon that ſubject. He died at the age of ninety, after a reign of fifty-four years, deeply regretted by his ſubjects as well as by foreigners.

Hiero at his death had a deſign to aboliſh royalty, becauſe he foreſaw the troubles which took place under his grand-ſon Hieronymus, a young Hieronymus, 2789.

man of fifteen, who was to ſucceed him. But he was diverted from it by Dinocrates, his eldeſt daughter, the wife of Andranadorous, a Sicilian nobleman. This couple, looked forwards with pleaſure to a minority, during which they hoped to govern under the name of the nephew, until an opportunity might occur for mounting the throne themſelves. Another of his daughters, Heraclea, was married to a man of diſtinction, named Zoippus, who was of a peaceable temper, and, as well as his ſpouſe, void of all ambition. The old king appointed for his grand-ſon a council of fifteen perſons, called tutors, to whom he recommended, among other things, never to abandon the alliance with the Romans.

This diſpoſition was heard with great coolneſs in the aſſembly of the people, among whom two parties had already been formed, one of royaliſts, and the other of republicans; but the latter were ſatiſfied with obſerving ſilence, and Hieronymus was proclaimed. Before many days had elapſed, the wiſe meaſures of Hiero were violated. His view in naming fifteen of the chief nobility tutors was to attach them to his grand-ſon, and to his power, which in ſome meaſure would be divided among them. But this partition did not ſuit Andranadorus: he wiſhed to command alone. Under a pretence that the king was capable of conducting the government, he diſmiſſed the council. Theſe lords retired, and none remained at court but the

king's two uncles, and a parasite named Thraso, who being well acquainted with the interests of the kingdom, professed to be a partisan of the Romans.

The young prince having no other check than the presence of men interested in flattering his passions, abandoned himself to debauchery; so that he soon became an object of contempt, as well as detestation. A conspiracy was formed against him; but the person by whom it was discovered could name none of the conspirators except one Theodotus. The latter being exposed to the rack, accused only the friends of the king, and particularly Thraso, who was put to death without much examination. It is very remarkable, that the accomplices considered themselves so certain of the firmness of Theodotus, that while he was on the rack none of them thought it necessary to fly.

The death of Thraso gave the Carthaginians a decided superiority in the council of Hieronymus, while the Romans endeavoured to draw closer the bonds of their ancient friendship. The young king, however, being informed of Hannibal's victories, considered them as lost, and not only refused to treat with them, but even accompanied his refusal with cutting raillery on the subject of their defeats. The Roman pride never forgave this insult; and the senate declared war against Hieronymus; but this was not his greatest misfortune. It appears that the Roman prætor who commanded in Sicily joined the conspirators,

whoſe names Theodotus had concealed, though ſuffering under the moſt cruel torment, and even Theodotus himſelf, who ſeems to have ſurvived his torture. Whatever may have been the nature of this intrigue, Hieronymus was aſſaſſinated, while paſſing through a narrow ſtreet; and the people ſhewed ſo little concern for his perſon, that they ſuffered the body to rot in the place where it had fallen.

On the firſt report of this aſſaſſination, Andranadorus ſeized the ſtrongeſt quarter of the city, while the people in the other quarters remained motionleſs with aſtoniſhment. The conſpirators, at whoſe head was Theodotus, aroufed them from this kind of ſtupor, by promiſing them the royal treaſures. They then declared, on all ſides, for the conſpirators, and haſtened in crowds to attack Andranodorus. A grave and prudent citizen having adviſed them to make ſome propoſals, Andranadorus liſtened to them, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his wife, who reminded him of the celebrated ſaying of Dionyſius the tyrant: that a ſovereign ſhould not deſcend from the throne, unleſs pulled from it by the heels. Andranadorus by ſubmitting meant only to give way to the circumſtances of the moment, till a more favourable opportunity ſhould occur. He diſmiſſed the ſoldiers, delivered up to the ſenate the treaſures of his nephew, and after a congratulation to the conſpirators, which ought never to have proceeded

from the mouth of an uncle, ſaid to them: "Do "not imagine that the glorious enterprize of re- "eſtabliſhing liberty is accompliſhed. You have "only made a beginning. A licentious populace "are as dangerous in a republic as a tyrant."

Andranadorus by his ſubmiſſion had the advantage of being among the number of the new magiſtrates elected by the people, together with Themiſtus, the huſband of Harmonia, ſiſter of the deceaſed king. Hippocrates and Epicydes, the agents of the Carthaginians, obſerving that in this change they had been looked on with an unfavourable eye, requeſted leave to retire under the protection of an eſcort. The ſenate, when it conſented to their departure, neglected to fix the time. The Syracuſans thus left among them two very able men, who were not only artful and political, but great generals, and well calculated to be the chiefs and the principal conductors of an intrigue.

It is not certain that they were the ſoul of the plot formed by Andranadorus, to enable him to aſcend the throne; but it is probable that he depended on their aſſiſtance. His wife Demarata was continually exciting him to aſſume the crown worn by his father: "Every thing is quiet at Sy- "racuſe," ſaid ſhe; "but the ſoldiers, accuſtomed "to receive pay from the king, are not yet diſ- "perſed, and have not yet adopted the republican "ſpirit. Two great generals, pupils of Hannibal, "are ready to put themſelves at their head. What

" do you wait for? Why delay?" Andranadorus concerted his meaſures; and ſecured the Iberian and African mercenaries, who were to exterminate the chief citizens of Syracuſe, whoſe property was to become the reward of their aſſaſſins. He communicated theſe arrangements to Themiſtus, or formed them in concert with him; but Themiſtus was ſo imprudent as to diſcloſe them to a comedian named Ariſto, and the latter went and told them to the ſenate. On his ſimple depoſition, Andranadorus and Themiſtus were condemned, though abſent, and put to death as they were entering the ſenate-houſe.

This murder, committed ſo precipitately, occaſioned great noiſe. The people aſſembled around the ſenate houſe, aſking who the criminals were, and of what crime they had been guilty. The bodies being thrown to them, Sopater, an orator of great vehemence, advancing, ſaid: " Thoſe who " are the cauſes of our misfortunes are far more " criminal than Hieronymus, who was only a " child. I allude to his tutors, who reigned un- " der his name, and who ought to have been de- " ſtroyed with the tyrant. Impunity encouraged " them to commit new crimes. They carried their " audacity ſo far as to aſpire at the ſovereignty; " but not being able to ſucceed by force, they " have employed treachery and hypocriſy. You " have evident proof of it. Though Andranadorus " has been named to the chief magiſtracy, among

" the deliverers of his country, ſo diſtinguiſhed a " favour has not been able to overcome his wicked " intentions. Their inſuperable deſire for reign- " ing has been inſpired by their wives. Theſe " furies are the cauſes of our calamities." On theſe words, they unanimouſly cried out that none of them were worthy of life, and that it was neceſſary to extirpate entirely the race of tyrants.

Scarcely was this cruel ſentence paſſed, when the prætors, who ought to have endeavoured to prevent the firſt effects of the people's fury, gave orders that it ſhould be carried into execution. Demarate and Harmonia, princeſſes of the blood royal, were maſſacred. The populace then hurried to the houſe of Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, the only princeſs of the royal family who had engaged in the conſpiracy. Her huſband, well known to be a man of republican principles, had got himſelf appointed ambaſſador to Egypt, that he might not be a witneſs of the diſorders which he foreſaw. His virtuous ſpouſe led a moſt retired life, wholly employed in the education of her two daughters. Being informed that the crowd were approaching, ſhe withdrew to the remoteſt part of her habitation, appropriated to the houſehold gods, but this ſacred aſylum did not reſtrain the aſſaſſins.

She appeared before them with her hair diſhevelled, and her eyes bathed in tears. " Unhappy " woman!" cried ſhe, " what have I done? Am I " not myſelf the victim of that king whom you

" have had ſo great cauſe to hate, and who ſepa-
" rated me from my huſband? What danger can
" be apprehended from me in the deſtitute ſtate
" to which I am reduced? What can be feared
" from my unfortunate orphan daughters, with-
" out influence and without ſupport? Baniſh me
" to Alexandria: permit me to go thither to join
" my huſband." She then threw herſelf at the feet of the aſſaſſins, and begged them to have pity on theſe innocent victims. Ferocious and inexorable, they plunged a poniard into her boſom while cloſe to her daughters, who were beſprinkled with her blood, and whom they inſtantly diſpatched alſo. When they had breathed their laſt, an order arrived from the people to ſuſpend the execution. As ſoon as they learned that it was too late, the Syracuſans, after pitying the innocent Heraclea, were inſpired with fury againſt the magiſtrates who had haſtened the execution of this bloody ſentence, without leaving the people time to be ſenſible of its injuſtice.

Siege of Syracuſe.

The horror excited by this murder eſtabliſhed at Syracuſe a kind of equilibrium between the party of the Romans and that of the Carthaginians. The former were furious republicans; the latter, favourers of royalty. Such indeed was the opinion conceived of them; but, at bottom, neither did the Romans give themſelves any trouble to eſtabliſh the popular government at Syracuſe, nor did the Carthaginians care whether the govern-

ment was monarchical or ariſtocratic, provided they could rule with full authority to the excluſion of their adverſaries. The Syracuſans, imagining that theſe rivals took up arms on account of their quarrels, were in reality nothing but the tools and the ſport of theſe ambitious nations. Had they been ſo prudent as not to abandon themſelves more to the Carthaginians than to the Romans, they might have lived at peace, in perfect neutrality; but Hippocrates and Epycides, thoſe two able Carthaginians, whom they had neglected to ſend away as they requeſted, after the death of Hieronymus, formed a faction ſo powerful, that they were elected magiſtrates, and admitted into the ſenate. Afterwards, they threw the city into agitation by a thouſand falſe reports: ſometimes, that the Romans were attempting to enter it; ſometimes, that they were butchering thoſe who had fled to their camp for ſhelter. Previous to all this, there had been ſome military expeditions, which enabled them to maintain a large body of troops, with whoſe aſſiſtance, partly by ſtratagem, and partly by force, they at length got poſſeſſion of Syracuſe. Not doubting that the conſul Marcellus would ſoon come to beſiege them, they expelled all the ſuſpected perſons, who formed the greater number. In regard to the people, who were ſoon gained over by a few largeſſes, they proceeded to the nomination of new prætors, becauſe the former had been killed during the tumult. Hippocrates and

Epycides cauſed the number to be reduced to two; and found means to make the choice fall upon themſelves. They then opened the priſons; emancipated the ſlaves, whom they converted into ſoldiers; and promiſed a favourable reception and reward to all deſerters from the Roman troops, which procured them a great number.

Marcellus was at the gates. Before he commenced hoſtilities, he ſent an embaſſy to the Syracuſans to inform them that he had not come to deprive them of their liberty, but to deliver them from the oppreſſion under which they groaned, and to avenge the death of their prætors, who had been inhumanly maſſacred. He declared that if they would allow their magiſtrates who had ſought an aſylum in his camp to return to their homes, and would deliver into his hands the authors of the laſt maſſacre, he would engage to abſtain from every act of violence; but that if they rejected demands ſo agreeable to juſtice, they ſhould be treated as enemies. Hippocrates, who received the embaſſy, gave an ironical anſwer, and diſmiſſed them.

The conſul having beſieged Syracuſe both by ſea and land, firſt attempted a general aſſault. The galleys proudly advanced, loaded with machines proper for diſcharging darts. Others, as high as the walls, were deſtined to convey ſoldiers to the ſummits of them; but, to their great aſtoniſhment, an enormous ſtone, or rather rock, hurled from the ramparts, cruſhed to pieces the ſtrongeſt of the

machines. An iron hook, advanced at the end of a beam, caught hold of a galley filled with men, raiſed it above the water, and ſuffered it to fall, by which means it ſunk; then caught hold of another, and daſhed it againſt the rocks. The ſoldiers approached the ramparts to avoid theſe machines; but others overwhelmed them with darts, ſtones, and maſſes of lead, without their being able to ſecure themſelves againſt their effects, becauſe the machines were placed behind the walls, and for the moſt part concealed from the view. They were the work of an able mathematician, named Archimedes. By the force of his genius, without employing the ſword, one man had the glory, on this occaſion, to repulſe two Roman armies. It is difficult to form any idea of machines capable of diſcharging ſtones weighing more than half a ton, and of making them do execution at a great diſtance; of raiſing up galleys filled with ſoldiers; and of diſperſing through the air a multitude of large arrows and heavy pikes, and making them hit the object at which they were directed. All theſe inventions ſeem to have been exaggerated; but however this may be, it is certain that they obliged Marcellus to raiſe the ſiege. He converted it into a blockade; undertook a few expeditions againſt ſome other towns of the iſland, which he ſubdued; gained a victory over the Carthaginians, who had ſent to Sicily a ſtrong army with elephants; and returned ſeveral months after to Syracuſe, where

he ſtill found Archimedes. "Shall we always," ſaid he, "carry on war againſt that Briareus—that "giant with a hundred hands?" He was an enemy, indeed, by whom he was greatly embarraſſed. As ſoon as the ſoldiers ſaw a cord, or a pole, appear above the walls, they imagined themſelves already carried off, betook themſelves to flight, and could not be brought back to the charge. Marcellus had attempted to open ſome communication with the city, in order that he might terminate, by negotiation, a ſiege which, with a few intervals, had continued two years; but his efforts were uſeleſs. The Roman deſerters, thoſe who had been concerned in acts of aſſaſſination, well knowing that they could hope for no pardon, reſtrained the people, however much they might be tired of their long captivity.

Marcellus was much aſſiſted in his operations by a fortunate event. A ſoldier who had often occaſion to paſs before the wall, took it into his head to count the ſtones, and diſcovered that it was not ſo high as he had imagined. In conſequence of his report, the conſul ordered an eſcalade, which was attended with ſucceſs. When he found himſelf within the outer wall, while receiving the congratulations of his officers on this event, he ſurveyed the unfortunate city with a kind of regret, and it is ſaid even ſhed tears, on account of the diſmal fate which its citizens, formerly ſo rich and ſo happy, were about to experience. It is but juſtice to al-

low this praiſe to Marcellus, that if he did not ſave the Syracuſans from every misfortune, he at leaſt exerted himſelf to diminiſh their ſufferings. He could not refuſe his ſoldiers the plunder of thoſe parts of the city taken by aſſault; but he laid them under certain reſtrictions. Never was a city pillaged with leſs diſorder, and ſo little cruelty. The ſoldiers entered the houſes, ſeized gold, ſilver, furniture, and proviſions, and every thing that ſuited them, without offering any violence to the perſons of the inhabitants.

The Acradina, the ſtrongeſt quarter of the city, was not yet taken. It contained, beſides the choiceſt of the foreign troops, a great many Roman deſerters. As the conſul was unwilling to expoſe his ſoldiers to theſe deſperadoes, he had once more recourſe to a blockade. The plague which broke out made a deadful havock among the beſiegers, as well as the beſieged. All theſe misfortunes induced the people to accept the favourable terms which were ſtill propoſed to them by the Romans; but thoſe diſpoſed for this meaſure were the weaker party. They were ſtill obliged to ſubmit to their ſufferings; but they were at length ended by an aſſault, which was not attended with much bloodſhed. The conſul had gained over an officer, who gave up to him one of the gates. He therefore ſtopped the carnage at the commencement, and his humanity made him iſſue

an order that the Roman deſerters ſhould be ſuffered to eſcape.

Archimedes was in the Acradina, but being employed, it is ſaid, in the demonſtration of a mathematical problem, he did not hear the noiſe occaſioned by the aſſault. As he continued to trace out his lines with tranquillity, a ſoldier appeared, and preſented his ſword to his breaſt: "Wait a moment, my friend," ſaid Archimedes, "and my problem will be reſolved." The ſoldier, aſtoniſhed at his tranquillity, when expoſed to ſo great danger, was deſirous of conducting him to the conſul. They accordingly ſet out, but Archimedes carried with him a box full of mathematical inſtruments. By the attachment which the geometrician ſhewed for this box, the ſoldier imagined that it was filled with gold, and inſtantly diſpatched him. Marcellus, who was exceedingly grieved on account of this accident, cauſed him to be buried in a magnificent manner, and ordered a tomb to be erected to his memory.

The conſul treated the Syracuſans rather as allies than as enemies. He reſtored to them the right of electing their magiſtrates; put them in poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges; exhorted them to peace and union; and repaired, as far as poſſible, their deſolated city. Notwithſtanding his indulgent kindneſs, he was accuſed, in a full ſenate, by thoſe very Syracuſans of having abuſed his authority towards

them. This was owing to a cabal of his enemies, who employed ſome of the citizens to purſue that meaſure, in order to mortify him. His juſtification was noble and ſimple. The Syracuſans repented of this injuſtice, and decreed, that every time any of the family of Marcellus landed in Sicily, the people, crowned with garlands of flowers, ſhould go out to meet them, and ſhould celebrate that happy day by ſacrifices. The whole iſland remained under the protection of Marcellus, and the Sicilians became the clients of that family.

After the taking of Syracuſe, there ſtill remained ſome cities to be brought under ſubjection. The Romans, who when they firſt landed in Sicily had required, as we may ſay, to be only tolerated, now made pretence to abſolute authority, and inflicted ſevere puniſhment on thoſe who oppoſed their will. Agrigentum having refuſed the yoke of theſe imperious maſters, the conſul Levinus beſieged and took the city. The chiefs by his order were ſcourged and beheaded; the people were made ſlaves, and ſold by public auction; and the money ariſing from the pillage of the place was conveyed to the treaſury of the republic. After this terrible example, there was no more reſiſtance, and Sicily was converted into a Roman province.

RHODES.

Rhodes, in the Mediterranean, oppoſite to Caria and Lycia.

The iſland of Rhodes ſeen from the ſea preſents a delightful proſpect—orchards, and vineyards,

which produce excellent wine; a city, ſtill beautiful, riſing on a hill in the form of an amphitheatre, and below it a commodious harbour, defended by rocks fifty feet diſtant from each other, which ſerved as a baſe to the famous coloſſus.

Coloſſus. This coloſſus was a ſtatue of copper erected in honour of Apollo and the ſun, the tutelary deity of the iſland. It is ſaid to have been a hundred and five feet in height, ſo that ſhips with their ſails fully diſplayed could paſs between its legs. Chares, the artiſt by whom it was made, was employed on it twelve years; but it remained ſtanding only ſixty. It was thrown down by an earthquake, and lay eight hundred and ninety-four years in the place where it had fallen. The perſon who broke it to pieces loaded nine hundred camels with it; and the weight of the copper, eſtimating at the rate of what each camel could carry, muſt have amounted to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. We ſhall leave to artiſts to examine how this enormous maſs could be caſt; how the different parts were joined; whether it was raiſed entire, and by what machines; how it was fixed on its baſes; and what knowledge of ſtatics was neceſſary to give it a perpendicular poſition, and ſuch an equilibrium as to reſiſt ſtorms and all the efforts of nature, except earthquakes. We propoſe theſe reſearches the more readily as the labour will not be employed on a ſuppoſittion, ſince the coloſſus really exiſted.

Religion. We know nothing of the religion of the Rho-

dians, but one ſingularity. Every year they celebrated a feſtival, not with benedictions but imprecations; ſo that if any perſon ſuffered a benevolent expreſſion to eſcape, it was conſidered as a bad omen; and it was then neceſſary to begin the ceremony again.

Inhabitants. The firſt inhabitants came from Crete, ſeized upon Caria, and eſtabliſhed colonies, both on the continent and in the iſles. They were the firſt people, it is ſaid, who had any notions of aſtronomy; and it is ſuppoſed that this knowledge was conveyed from them to the Egyptians. Rhodes was ſupplied with inhabitants alſo by thoſe emigrations, which were conſequences of the Trojan war.

Commerce. The Rhodians applied at a very early period to commerce and navigation. For ſeveral centuries they were the ſovereigns of the ſea. Their laws, known under the name of the Rhodian laws, became a kind of code, according to which all diſputes reſpecting maritime affairs were decided. They appeared to be ſo replete with wiſdom that they were incorporated with the Roman laws, and were obſerved in all the maritime provinces of the empire.

Government. The government, at firſt, was monarchical. We have the names of ſeveral kings of Rhodes who reigned before the Trojan war, but no event worthy of being mentioned. After that period, we find a Cleobulus, who went in queſt of wiſdom to Egypt, and who is accounted one of the ſeven Gre-

cian ſages; a Cleobulina, his daughter, a very learned poeteſs, and a philoſophical aſtrologer, to whom he left his crown; Diagoras, a cotemporary of Pindar, who gained the prize at all the Olympic, Iſthmian, Nemean, and Argian games, as well as his ſon, both celebrated by that poet, whom they liberally rewarded. Women were forbidden, on the pain of death, to approach the Olympic games.

2643. Royalty was ſucceeded by the republican government: with the form we are unacquainted; whether it was democratic or ariſtocratic, or a mixture of both: but whatever it may have been, there is reaſon to believe that it was analogous to the character of the Rhodians, becauſe we find that they were always unanimous in peace as well as in war, and hiſtory gives us ſcarcely any reaſon to ſuſpect that there ever were troubles among them. It was under the protection of this government that they carried on an immenſe trade; had a formidable military navy; repelled with glory the enemy from their ramparts, and rendered their republic, for ſome time, a rival to that of Rome.

Artemiſia. It may be neceſſary to withhold from the eulogy of the Rhodians what happened to them in regard to Artemiſia, the queen of Caria, celebrated by the magnificent edifice which ſhe raiſed to the memory of her huſband Mauſolus. Having been ſubdued by that prince, they avenged themſelves on the widow, and ravaged her kingdom. Artemiſia learned that they meant to attack Halicarnaſſus, the chief

city of her dominions. She, therefore, exhorted the inhabitants to poſt themſelves on the walls, and when the enemy appeared to expreſs, by acclamations and the clapping of hands, that they wiſhed to ſurrender. The Rhodians, deceived by theſe demonſtrations, went on ſhore, were admitted into the city, and left their veſſels unguarded. Artemiſia, who had placed herſelf in ambuſcade, cauſed them to be manned by her ſoldiers, together with her own ſlaves, and proceeded towards Rhodes. The inhabitants, knowing their own veſſels, and obſerving them crowned with flowers, entertained no doubt that Halicarnaſſus was taken, and that their countrymen had brought with them the plunder. They opened, therefore, their port, which the fleet entered, and the Carians made themſelves maſters of the city. Artemiſia put to the ſword the principal citizens, becauſe they had been the authors of the expedition to Caria; and puniſhed with death at Halicarnaſſus the ſtupid confidence of thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be deceived. The queen cauſed a trophy of her victory to be erected, together with two ſtatues of bronze, one of which repreſented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemiſia branding it with a hot iron. The Rhodians durſt not deſtroy this monument, becauſe it was conſecrated; but they ſurrounded it with a wall, that they might at leaſt conceal their ſhame, if they could not efface the veſtiges of it. Rhodes became free by the aid of the Athenians,

whom it however offended; but when these people were deliberating on the demand of the inhabitants, Demosthenes reminded his countrymen of those noble maxims which had raised them to their highest glory—"to forget injuries, to pardon rebels, "and undertake the defense of the unfortunate."

Siege of Rhod s. 2698.

One of the most celebrated events in regard to ancient Rhodes, is the siege it sustained against Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. It had not, however, deserved the indignation of that prince. Its whole crime was, that it wished to remain neuter between him and Ptolemy king of Egypt. When Demetrius compelled it to make a choice, it did not hesitate to declare for its ancient ally, which drew upon it the formidable forces of Antigonus, commanded by his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, or the Taker of Cities. So much did a persuasion prevail that Rhodes would not escape him, that his fleet, having on board forty thousand soldiers, was followed as far as the eye could reach by private ships of war, slave merchants, and all those infamous agents of traffic who are attached to a victorious army.

The Rhodians pursued prudent measures to sustain the siege. When the citizens were numbered, there were found to be only seven thousand men capable of bearing arms; but they promised liberty to such of their slaves as should perform noble actions, and the city engaged to indemnify their masters for those who should be killed or emancipated. It was declared also that the republic would cause

to be honourably interred thoſe who might fall in battle, and that it would provide for the maintenance of their parents, wives, and children; that it would give portions to their daughters; and that when their children attained to the age of manhood they ſhould receive, at the grand feſtival of Bacchus, a crown and a complete ſuit of armour.

So many encouragements, both of intereſt and glory, inſpired all orders in the city with the moſt invincible ardour. The rich went in crowds with money to defray the expenſes of the ſiege; and they ſupplied the artificers and engineers with timber for the machines, and metals proper for making arms. It was chiefly by his inventive genius that Demetrius rendered himſelf formidable in ſieges. The Rhodians oppoſed to him no leſs ſkill and induſtry. In regard to aſſaults, cloſe combat on the ramparts and in the mines, if the ſoldiers of Demetrius had ſometimes the advantage, they were ſpeedily repulſed; and at the end of a year this prince thought himſelf happy to find a pretence for raiſing the ſiege without diſhonour. When he departed he made a preſent of his machines to the Rhodians. With the money which they produced they purchaſed the copper employed in forming their coloſſus.

Protogenes, a celebrated painter, had reſided in the ſuburbs without the city at the time it was beſieged by Demetrius. As the preſence of the enemy and the noiſe of the arms, which continually

reſounded in his ears, had neither interrupted his labour nor made him quit his habitation, the king, ſurprized at this tranquillity, aſked him the reaſon. The anſwer of Protogenes is worthy of being made known to princes: "It is," ſaid he, "becauſe I am perſuaded that you have declared "war againſt the Rhodians, and not againſt the "arts."

The earthquake which overturned the coloſſus occaſioned a general contribution for the relief of the Rhodians. They received letters from all quarters, and the articles ſent to them may ſerve to make known what were the productions and riches of each country. The king of Egypt gave them money, a million meaſures of wheat, and materials for building twenty galleys with five banks of oars, and as many with three. He ſent alſo a hundred maſons and three hundred workmen, with a promiſe that he would pay them as long as their ſervices might be neceſſary. Antigonus furniſhed them with money, ten thouſand logs of timber, each ſixteen cubits long; ſeven thouſand planks, three thouſand pounds of iron, as many of roſin, and a thouſand meaſures of pitch. A lady, named Chryſeis, ſent a thouſand meaſures of wheat, and three thouſand pounds of lead. Antiochus, ten galleys, two hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat, and various other articles of great value. Pruſias, Mithridates, and the other kings of Aſia, the nations of Greece, and the

princes of Europe, all diſplayed their generoſity on this occaſion; and the leaſt preſent was that of the monarchs who exempted from the payment of duty all the merchandize which their ſubjects might tranſport to Rhodes. Never was any contribution more abundant. The motive of it was the re-eſtabliſhment of the coloſſus, which being a religious act excited their liberality; but the Rhodians left the idol lying on the ground, and appropriated to their own uſe the offerings.

On account of a war with Philip king of Macedon, the Rhodians made an alliance with the Romans. They treated as on an equal footing, and their ambaſſadors were received with deference by the ſenate. This union gave them great preponderance in regard to the neighbouring ſtates; their ſucceſs inſpired them with pride, and they ſpoke in haughty terms, not only to the republics of Greece their equals, but even to the greateſt kings. The eminent ſervices which they rendered to the Romans in ſeveral naval battles, induced them to think that the republic could not confer too great a reward on their fidelity; but they found in Eumenes king of Pergamus a competitor whoſe pretenſions were better received.

Both parties, after the defeat of Antiochus, requeſted from the Romans ſome ſtates convenient for them which had belonged to that prince. Eumenes got the beſt ſhare, to the great regret of the Rhodians, who obtained only Lycia. Theſe

Quarrel with the Romans, 2825.

republicans, though they idolized liberty, behaved with the moſt oppreſſive ſeverity to their new ſubjects the Lycians, who complained to the Romans, and were taken under their protection. The ſenate wrote to the Rhodians a letter couched in the language of ſuperiority; but theſe iſlanders, finding their pride wounded, treated their ſubjects ſtill worſe. The Lycians revolted, and were ſubdued. From ſeverity their maſters proceeded to cruelty. The oppreſſed people had again recourſe to Rome, which ſent commiſſioners inveſted with full powers to terminate the difference. They were not received with the uſual marks of affection; but the Rhodians gave way, and the Lycians were better treated.

It would not be aſtoniſhing if the conduct of the Romans, in ſome reſpect imperious, had offended the Rhodians, and if the latter wiſhed ſucceſs to their enemies, and entertained a ſecret deſire of ſeeing theſe proud republicans humbled. While in this diſpoſition, perhaps, they ſhewed an attachment to Perſeus, with whom the Romans were then at war. They were obliged to juſtify themſelves on this ſuſpicion in a full ſenate; but they did it in ſuch a ſullen manner that they loſt the whole prize for which they contended. The ſenate, by way of anſwer, cauſed to be read in their preſence the decree which deprived them of Lycia. During the firſt moments of their wounded pride, the Rhodians declared themſelves neuter between

the Romans and Perſeus, and recalled their ſhips which they had in the Roman fleet; but that they might not come to an open rupture, they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to exhort the ſenate to peace.

Unfortunately, however, they arrived at the time when intelligence had been received of the complete defeat of Perſeus. They attempted to ſpeak: "Go," ſaid the conſul to them, "perfi-"dious meſſengers, and tell your republic that its "care for the intereſts of Perſeus is no longer in "ſeaſon." The time was now come for the Rhodians to aſſume an air of humility. Aſtymedes, the chief of the embaſſy, did ſo in a manner which muſt have been exceedingly painful. He confeſſed that vanity was the prevailing feature in the character of his countrymen. "But would "you conſider," added he, "this national mark "of imperfection as a crime which cannot be ex-"piated but by the total ruin of our country?" He then ſpoke of the ſervices which the Rhodians had rendered to the republic: "If they have "ceaſed," ſaid he, "to aſſiſt the Romans, they "have never committed actual hoſtilities againſt "them. In a word, I declare that we will entirely "ſubmit to the will of Rome, and that we have "reſolved to make no reſiſtance if we are at-"tacked." When the buſineſs was brought to the vote, a great number were of opinion that war ought to be declared againſt the Rhodians. Cato, however, ſpoke as follows: "Ye immortal Gods!

"muſt we then uſurp your rights? Muſt we pene-
"trate into the hearts of men to find enemies?
"In my opinion, the defeat and captivity of
"Perſeus have been a real puniſhment to the
"Rhodians. I will even add, that their compaſ-
"ſion aroſe from intereſted motives; but when
"were people forbidden to be fond of their li-
"berty? Rome is a formidable power, capable of
"ſubduing the whole Eaſt. Macedonia, already
"reduced to obedience, is no longer able to with-
"ſtand her arms. Needs it excite aſtoniſhment
"that neighbouring danger ſhould create violent
"alarm? Do you imagine that the Rhodians hate
"you?—No. But they love themſelves. Is there
"any one among us who can behold with a fa-
"vourable eye a formidable neighbour? What
"would we not do to remove him to a diſtance?
"All means, in ſuch a conjuncture, violence ex-
"cepted, are lawful; and this is exactly the caſe
"of the Rhodians. They wiſhed that Perſeus
"might not be ruined, and that the barrier which
"ſeparated us from them might be ſuffered to
"exiſt. Can this be accounted a crime? Beſides,
"ought mere wiſhes to be puniſhed? But it may
"be ſaid that the pride of the Rhodians was diſ-
"played in their ſpeech; and indeed one of their
"ambaſſadors made uſe of a few arrogant expreſ-
"ſions. What can be thence inferred, but that
"theſe are a people ſtill haughtier and more im-
"perious than we? Is an inconſiderate expreſſion

" a crime which can be expiated only by rivers of " blood? What can we expect in return for injuſt " ſeverity, but ſentiments of hatred, or at leaſt of " diſtruſt on the part of our enemies? Foreign " nations will fear us more, but we ſhall be leſs " beloved. And after all, the Rhodians have not " carried their ingratitude ſo very far. Perſius, " at the time of his greateſt ſplendour, was not " able to induce them to take up arms againſt us. " I am of opinion, therefore, that we ought to " leave the Rhodians in poſſeſſion of their iſland." This opinion was adopted. No more thoughts were entertained of war; and the ſenate only required that thoſe who had ſhewn themſelves partiſans of Perſeus might be baniſhed, which was accordingly done. This condeſcendence diſarmed the ſenate, and the Rhodians were declared allies of the Romans.

After this period, Rhodes was treated by Rome as her ſiſter, but as a younger ſiſter, from whom the eldeſt received marks of reſpect as a debt. Rhodes found itſelf engaged in the Carian war without being able, before the commencement of hoſtilities, to aſk the conſent of Rome. Having proved victorious, it ſent deputies to lay its laurels at the feet of the ſenators as a token of homage, and as an excuſe for having conquered without their permiſſion. The ſenate deigned to order thanks to be returned to them for this deference. Rhodes redoubled its reſpectful attention, begging

that it might be permitted to place in the temple of Minerva, at Rome, a ſtatue of that goddeſs thirty cubits in height. It would appear that the dignity of the offering was eſtimated by the height. This favour was granted, together with the reſtitution of Lycia, which the Roman republic had taken from its ſiſter when diſpleaſed at her conduct.

291. The Romans conſidered themſelves in Rhodes as at home. They aſſembled there when expelled from Aſia by Mithridates king of Pontus. This prince might have got into his hands many illuſtrious priſoners, had he been able to force the iſland to ſurrender, when he laid ſiege to it; but he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance, both from the inhabitants and the refugees, who all fought as for their common country.

This kind of fraternity was deſtructive to the Rhodians, as it did not allow them to be neuter during the domeſtic troubles of their allies. They declared for Pompey, and afterwards for Cæſar; defended themſelves with courage againſt Caſſius, his murderer; fought two battles, and loſt in them the greater part of their ſhips. The city was given up by treachery to Caſſius, who ſtripped it of its ornaments, cauſed the principal inhabitants to be put to death, and exacted from it very heavy contributions. Marc Anthony reſtored its privileges, and annexed to its dominion ſeveral of the adjacent iſlands; but the Rhodeans, thoſe zealous

friends of liberty, oppreſſed all theſe countries ſo much with taxes, that the dictator was obliged to take them back. Veſpaſian impoſed a tribute on Rhodes, which, from being a ſovereign, became only the capital of the iſlands ſubject to Rome in the Mediterranean. We ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work that it recovered its independence, of which it was afterwards deprived by the Ottoman power.

CRETE.

Crete or Candia, the firſt iſland of the Archipelago towards the ſouth-eaſt.

Crete, at preſent called Candia, is one of the largeſt iſlands in the Mediterranean, and much longer than it is broad. It is ſaid to be about two hundred leagues in circumference. It is well watered, and produces excellent wine. The ſoil is fertile and the air ſalubrious. This iſland was covered formerly with a hundred cities, the veſtiges of which ſtill exhibit remarkable curioſities, though the greater part were carried away by the Venetians, when they had it in their poſſeſſion. There are ſtill ſeen fragments of fluted columns of granite, eighteen feet in circumference, maſter-pieces of art, which it would now be difficult to imitate. The principal mountain is Ida, from which the ſurrounding ſea may be ſeen on both ſides.

Inhabitants.

On this and the neighbouring mountains lived the Dactyli, who taught the uſe of fire; the method of fuſing copper and iron, and of working theſe metals; together with poetry, muſic, and

ſacred ceremonies. They inhabited caverns in the mountains, or reſided under large trees; and theſe people, ſo ſkilful in things of leſs uſe, were unacquainted with the art of building houſes. It was, no doubt, when they attained to this induſtry that they united men in ſociety; that they inſtructed them how to manage flocks, to break horſes, to hunt, to dance, to form ſwords and helmets, and to do many other things aſcribed to the Curetes. The Titans, another indigenous race, were no leſs uſeful to mankind. Inſtead of making them fight againſt the gods, the Cretans derived from them their deities, Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, Rhea, Thetis, Mnemoſyne, Latona, and Ceres; and they conſidered Minos, the firſt legiſlator of Greece, as deſcended from theſe deities.

We know, or think we know, the names of the ancient Cretan kings, even as far back as Minos. This prince was the firſt who equipped a fleet, and made himſelf formidable at ſea; but he is indebted for his chief reputation to his laws, which ſerved as a model for thoſe of Lacedemon eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus. We there find eating in public, reſpect for the aged, puniſhment denounced againſt luxury and idleneſs, military exerciſes, ſevere life recommended in infancy, and political converſation of old men after their public banquets. All Spartan laws.

Another, imitated by the Romans, was the obligation impoſed on maſters to ſerve their ſlaves

during ſome holidays, inſtituted for that purpoſe. Another eſtabliſhment of Minos, admired by Plato, conſiſted in inſpiring young people, at an early age, with a great reſpect for the maxims, cuſtoms, and laws, of their country, and in forbidding them to queſtion or ever doubt the wiſdom of their inſtitutions, becauſe they ought to conſider them not as preſcribed by men, but as dictated by the gods themſelves; and as laws, which if carefully obſerved, would greatly contribute to public tranquillity. Minos, that great legiſlator, is the ſame who impoſed on the Athenians the cruel tribute of ſeven boys, and as many girls, whom he cauſed to be devoured by the minotaur, a monſter half man and half bull. This barbarity, if credible, might induce us to believe, that thoſe who make laws for others have ſometimes need that others ſhould make laws for them.

The fable of Paſiphae, enamoured of a bull, is reduced according to hiſtory to a libertine princeſs, who abandoned herſelf to one of her huſband's courtiers named Taurus. The labyrinth, Dædalus and Icarus who extricated themſelves from its winding paſſages by means of wings, that is to ſay, the ſails of a ſhip, are the embelliſhments of this hiſtory. It is to be obſerved, that the Cretans who poſſeſſed ſuch noble laws, became afterwards the moſt licentious of men; and the name of Cretan given to any one, as alluſive to morals, was an inſult.

Deucalion, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Minos, was the father of Phædra, whoſe inceſtuous love for Hippolytus her ſon-in-law has been repreſented with ſo much intereſt on the French theatre. Idomeneus, who killed his eldeſt ſon to diſcharge a vow, and who was brought back to wiſdom by the leſſons of Mentor within the walls of Salentum, furniſhed an inſtructive epiſode to the author of Telemachus. Some tragic poet alſo might excite our pity for the fate of the unfortunate Phronima, calumniated by her mother-in-law, and condemned by Etearchus her father, the laſt king of Crete, to periſh in the waves, from which this princeſs eſcaped only to lead a life unworthy of her rank.

Republic. The monarchical form of government was ſucceeded by the republican; but we neither know when nor on what occaſion. The ſovereign power was veſted in a ſenate compoſed of thirty members. Its deciſions, however, did not acquire the force of laws until confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people. They were choſen in the ſame manner as the ephori at Sparta, from the body of the people, and even the loweſt of that claſs might be elected. From theſe were appointed the ſenators, who were reſponſible for nothing while *coſmi*; but who became reſponſible as ſoon as they took their ſeats in the ſenate. A proper balance was preſerved between theſe magiſtracies. It is not known how long they exiſted; whether

they were eſtabliſhed in each city, nor what was the bond which united the cities to form them into a body politic.

It appears, that after the abolition of monarchy there never was a federative union among the Cretans. Their great dexterity in the uſe of the bow and the ſling is aſcribed to the perpetual wars in which they were involved with each other. There were few belligerent powers which did not endeavour to engage in their ſervice Cretan archers and ſlingers. A proof that they had no union among themſelves as a nation is, that we do not find they ever had a national war with the other iſlanders in the neighbourhood; and that when they went beyond the limits of their own iſle, either to defend themſelves or to attack others, it was only with ſingle ſhips, and not a fleet, as becomes a people connected by one common intereſt.

The Cretans preferred piratical wars to all 2929.
others. They infeſted the Mediterranean, and interrupted the navigation even on the coaſts of Italy. This conduct ſupplied the Romans with a ſpecious pretext for attacking Crete, which had always been perfectly independent. But the true reaſon of the ſenate was the ſituation of the iſland, being exceedingly convenient for the Romans in the time of war, whether they carried it on in Europe, Aſia, or Africa. They changed its government, ſubjected it to tribute, and converted it

into a Roman province. The Ottomans, who in almoſt all the iſlands of theſe ſeas ſucceeded the Romans, as the latter did the Greeks, have become maſters of Candia, which they tore from the Venetians, but not without difficulty, as will be ſeen hereafter.

CYPRUS.

Cyprus, oppoſite to the coaſt of Cilicia.

Cyprus, where Venus, formed of the foam of the ſea, landed on a marine ſhell, accompanied by Love and the graces, was favoured alſo by Bacchus. It produced formerly, and ſtill produces, excellent wine, honey, oil, and a ſufficient quantity of corn. The copper of Cyprus was highly eſteemed. It was fuſed accidentally, when the inhabitants ſet fire to the foreſts, in order that they might render the land fit for cultivation.

Inhabitants. Government.

It is ſuppoſed to have been firſt diſcovered by the Phœnicians, who eſtabliſhed in it a colony by whom it was peopled. Various nations, Athenians, Macedonians, Arcadians, and even Ethiopians, ſettled in it, and introduced the manners of their different countries. This mixture did not tend to render them pure; and whether it aroſe from a confuſion of habits and principles, or from the remembrance of Venus, their tutelary goddeſs, the Cyprian ladies were remarkable for their gallantry. Pygmalion, it is ſaid, having arrived in Cyprus—but from what country, or on what account, we are not told—was ſo diſpleaſed with the behaviour

of the women, that he reſolved never to marry. As he was an excellent ſculptor, he amuſed himſelf with making an ivory ſtatue; which was ſo beautiful, that he became enamoured of it. He then reſolved to marry, if Venus would procure a female as handſome as his ſtatue. The goddeſs gave animation to the ſtatue itſelf, which brought Pygmalion a ſon, who was the firſt king of Cyprus. After that period the government was always monarchical, but the iſland was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, ſo that each city almoſt had its own king. Sometimes, but very ſeldom, theſe kingdoms were united, and formed one monarchy, which was afterwards diſmembered. It was eaſy for the neighbouring nations to ſubdue each part ſeparately. The Perſians, as appears, were the people who profited moſt by this diviſion. They ruled there without interruption, till a king of Salamis, named Oneſilus, formed a confederation of all the kings of the iſland, who before had been as it were vaſſals to the Perſians; and at the head of thoſe united forces made himſelf formidable to the oppreſſors.

Being betrayed and deſerted by two of the kings, his colleagues, he was killed in a battle. His ſucceſſors bore with patience the Perſian yoke, but under the protection of the Greeks, who abandoned them altogether at the peace of Antalcidas.

At that time there were nine kings in the

iſland. Evagoras II. tired of being tributary to the Perſians, and ſupported by the great riches he had amaſſed, raiſed a ſtrong army and equipped a fleet; but, though powerfully aſſiſted by the Athenians, could not obtain peace till he returned to his former dependance. Under the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Cyprus paſſed from Antigonus to the kings of Egypt. Nicocles, one of the petty kings of Cyprus, having become ſuſpected by the Egyptian monarch, the latter ſent aſſaſſins to Cyprus, who ſurrounded Nicocles in ſuch a manner, that, ſeeing no means of eſcaping, he diſpatched himſelf. Axiathea, his wife, when informed of her huſband's fate, killed her daughters with her own hands, and afterwards ſtabbed herſelf with a poniard. When the account of this maſſacre was ſpread abroad, the brothers of Nicocles were ſo much affected with grief, that each of them ſet fire to his palace, and periſhed in the flames with his family.

It might be expected that the Roman republic would at length ſwallow up the iſland of Cyprus, but it was not by conqueſt. It judged proper to employ rather the right of ſucceſſion, whether well or ill founded. An Alexander, driven from the throne of Egypt which he had uſurped, retired to the iſland of Cyprus, as it formed a part of the Egyptian dominions, but was expelled from it by the Ptolemys, two brothers, one of whom aſſumed the ſceptre of Cyprus, and the other that of Egypt.

Alexander, thus ſtripped of his territories, in order that he might be revenged, made the Romans his heirs when he died. According to every appearance the moment was not then favourable for uſing the right given to them by this teſtamentary diſpoſition, for they left the Ptolemys at peace, each on his throne, and even made an alliance with them; but the Cyprian Ptolemy having been ſo imprudent as to refuſe money to the tribune Clodius on an urgent occaſion, the Roman magiſtrate thought proper to revive the teſtamentary right, which was then almoſt forgotten. When he preſented it to the people he took care to make known, that the riches to be ſhared would amount to a very large ſum. This was a powerful conſideration with the citizens of Rome, who lived on the ſpoils of other nations. It appeared to them extremely juſt, that Cyprus, an iſland ſo opulent, ſhould belong to the republic. Thus, though Ptolemy, then on the throne, was acknowledged a friend and an ally of Rome—though he had done nothing that could incur the hatred of the imperious republic, the kingdom of that prince was declared by a decree of the ſenate to belong to the Roman people.

Clodius gained three advantages by this decree: firſt, to avenge himſelf; ſecondly, to pleaſe the people, whoſe ſupport he found neceſſary; and in the third place, to get Cato removed to a diſtance, as his preſence was injurious to his ambitious de-

ſigns. Unknown to Cato, the prætor got him appointed to this department, and went himſelf to announce to him the deciſion of the ſenate in the following words; "Vice predominates in Cyprus, "and it even ſtains the throne. Rome has made "choice of a man of irreproachable conduct to "re-eſtabliſh there the empire of virtue. Go "then, Cato, and make the purity of the Roman "laws be reſpected in an iſland diſgraced by the "moſt depraved morals." Cato, perceiving the ſnare laid for him, replied: "Our country is ex-"poſed to misfortunes ſtill greater. It is impoſ-"ſible for me to deſert it." "Since you refuſe "the ſolicitations of your friends," returned Clodius, "we muſt employ force." He immediately cauſed the ſenate to be aſſembled, and Cato received orders to depart without delay, and to proceed to Cyprus to dethrone the king.

Without an army, and without guards, Cato went on board the firſt veſſel he could find; and, having landed at Rhodes, wrote a letter to the weak king, exhorting him to retire in peace, and offering him as an indemnification for the loſs of his crown the high prieſthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were conſiderable. The monarch, frightened at the very idea of a war with the Romans, embarked with all his riches and ſet ſail, intending to ſink the veſſel, and to periſh with his wealth. He, however, repented of his deſign, returned on ſhore,

and having carefully put his darling riches in his treaſury, ſwallowed poiſon. Cato took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of the republic, and ſeized for its account the king's treaſures, which amounted to above a million ſterling.

As ſoon as the tribuneſhip of Clodius had expired, Cicero propoſed to annul all the decrees paſſed during his magiſtracy. This was oppoſed by Cato, becauſe in that caſe it would have been neceſſary to reſtore to the Cyprians the treaſures carried away from their iſland. Thus Cato, though a man of ſuch rigid virtue, thought, like an avaricious republican, that in order to preſerve the money theſe iſlanders ought ſtill to be deprived of their liberty.

Samos.

Samos is about thirty leagues in circumference; the ſoil is fertile, and the air ſalubrious. The earthen-ware made here formerly was in great requeſt. This iſland contains ruins, which atteſt the beauty of ſome of its cities, and particularly Samos the capital. Near it ſtood a ſuperb temple dedicated to Juno, the tutelary deity of the iſland; an aqueduct which croſſed a mountain, and conveyed water to the city; and a mole of a hundred feet in height, which extended two furlongs into the ſea. So extraordinary a work, conſtructed at ſo remote a period, proves that the Samians had a taſte for

Samos, between the Continent, Aſia, and Icaria.

navigation. It is said, that they built the first ships proper for transporting cavalry.

Inhabitants. Government.

The earliest inhabitants of Samos were Carians, and people from the neighbouring islands. It formed a part of the Ionian confederation. The government was first monarchical, afterwards republican under a democratic senate, oligarchical, and no doubt often anarchical, since it was exposed to domestic troubles. The most remarkable civil war was occasioned by the nobles named *geomori*, who deprived the people of their lands, and divided them among themselves. In a war which took place afterwards, they entrusted the command of the troops to nine generals, with whose disposition it appears they were not well acquainted; for these commanders finding themselves at the head of the troops, put the geomori to the sword, and re-established democracy. This form of government gave place to tyranny, which one Syloson found means to establish, by enticing the people from the city under the pretence of a procession, and not suffering them to return till he had disarmed them, and rendered them obedient. The people, however, resumed their authority, but were again brought under the yoke by Polycrates, the famous tyrant of Samos.

Polycrates, 2431.

He attained to the sovereign authority by a plot formed in concert with his brothers, to whom he promised a share in the government. It is said,

they began their enterprize when only ten in number, and that having taken poſſeſſion of the citadel they withſtood the firſt efforts of the Samians. The tyrant of Naxos, a neighbouring iſland, ſent very opportunely aſſiſtance to theſe brothers. Polycrates mounted the throne, but he refuſed to admit any partners, and got rid of his brothers either by death or baniſhment; and even of the great by whom he had been oppoſed. Thus he was maſter in his own country, and ſoon became ſo in others. The anecdote reſpecting Amaſis, king of Egypt, his ally, who adviſed him to bring upon himſelf ſome misfortune to break the courſe of too uninterrupted proſperity, which he was afraid would in the end prove his ruin, is well known. Polycrates at firſt was not able to procure that misfortune neceſſary for his happineſs. He became a conqueror, formidable to his enemies; his alliance was courted, and if he experienced a few trifling checks they ſtill turned out to his glory. Too much confidence, however, hurried him on to deſtruction. Being accuſtomed to ſucceſs in all his enterprizes, he fell into a ſnare laid for him by a Perſian governor, who was hurt to ſee himſelf eclipſed by the ſovereign of a petty iſland like Samos. He enticed him into his government, and cauſed him to be crucified. Polycrates, notwithſtanding his being ſtyled a tyrant, was a great prince, a good general, and an able politician. Samos was never ſo flouriſhing as under his reign.

Anacreon lived in his time: a court which encouraged this poet, and where he was fond of reſiding, could not be deſtitute of pleaſure.

Mæandrus. Polycrates was ſucceeded by Mæandrus, his ſecretary and miniſter. He intended to have reſtored the Samians to liberty, but when he made a propoſal for that purpoſe in an aſſembly of the people, Teleſearchus, one of the principal inhabitants, roſe up and ſaid, that he had much better begin by giving an account of the money with the management of which he had been intruſted. Mæandrus replied: "If I am addreſſed in ſuch "language while I have authority in my hand, "what will be the caſe when I ſhall have abdi- "cated?" He therefore retained the crown; but it did not remain long in his poſſeſſion. It was wreſted from him by one of the brothers of Polycrates, who had been only baniſhed. Various ſucceſſors held the reins of government, ſome little known, and others with reputation, under the protection of the Perſians; and in alliance ſometimes with the Athenians, and ſometimes with the Lacedemonians. This degenerate ſtate was followed by one ſtill worſe under the kings of Macedonia, Syria, and Pergamus. The Samians were involved in great revolutions almoſt without being obſerved. Thus they fell into the hands of the Romans as a part of the ſtates of Eumenes, bequeathed to the republic. Auguſtus reſtored them to liberty and the uſe of their laws, which they had enjoyed for

a ſhort time during their alliance with the Athenians; but Veſpaſian included Samos among the Greek iſlands which he formed into a province.

Greek Islands.

The Greek iſlands conſiſt of two general diviſions: the Cyclades, thus called from the Greek word which ſignifies a circle, are thoſe arranged in that form around Delos, the iſland of Apollo. The Sporades take their name from another Greek word which ſignifies to ſow, becauſe they are ſcattered in a confuſed manner throughout the ſea, at a diſtance from the circle of Samos. There are ſome of them which it would be uſeleſs to name, were they not ſometimes mentioned in the Grecian hiſtory. Greek iſlands, Cyclades and Sporades.

Proconneſus, on the coaſt of Thrace, oppoſite to Cyzicum, is known by its beautiful marble, which is ſuſceptible of the fineſt poliſh. Conſtantine would employ no other for embelliſhing his new city. Proconneſus.

Beſbicus, near Cyzicum, is reckoned among thoſe iſlands which have been detached from the continent. Beſbicus.

Tenedos, oppoſite to the ancient Troy, may be about nine leagues in circumference. The long twiſted ſnakes which devoured Laocoon and his ſons came from this iſland, and the Greeks concealed themſelves behind it when they pretended to raiſe the ſiege of Troy. Its inhabitants were Tenedos.

remarkably ſtrict in the adminiſtration of juſtice. *Tenedian juſtice* was a proverbial expreſſion, employed to convey the idea of ſevere juſtice. It produces the moſt delicious muſcadine wine of the Levant. Juſtinian made it a kind of magazine for the corn tranſported to Conſtantinople. It belonged to the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, and the Romans, and afterwards fell into the hands of the Turks.

Leſbos. Leſbos is about a hundred and twenty leagues in circumference. It produced Arion, who is conſidered as the inventor of the lyre; Theophraſtus, the chief of the peripatetic philoſophy next to Ariſtotle; Pittacus, one of the ſeven ſages of Greece; Alcæus, a lyric poet; Sappho, the tenth muſe; Terpander, who added a ſeventh ſtring to the lyre; Hellanicus, a celebrated hiſtorian; Callias, the laborious commentator of Alcæus and Sappho; Diophanes, a celebrated rhetorician; and many others. There was a certain period, when the Romans who wiſhed to improve themſelves in the belles-lettres repaired to Rhodes, Athens, or Mitylene, the capital of Leſbos.

The wine of Leſbos was employed by Ariſtotle to appreciate the merits of two great men. Being one day aſked whether he preferred Menedemus of Rhodes, or Theophraſtus of Leſbos, he poured out wine of both theſe places, and having taſted each, ſaid: "They are both excellent, but that "of Leſbos is the beſt."

Like the other iſlands, it was peopled by colonies, the chiefs or conductors of which became kings. Afterwards democracy was eſtabliſhed, and all the cities then affected a ſuperiority over their neighbours, which gave riſe to civil wars, that brought back royalty, or, as it was called in Greek, tyranny. Pittacus, who had expelled a tyrant from Mitylene, was even requeſted by the inhabitants after that to aſſume the ſceptre. He governed with great wiſdom; and ſeveral of his deciſions were engraven on the walls of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as oracles of juſtice. One of his laws will no doubt appear ſevere: it enacted that all miſdemeanors committed during intoxication ſhould be doubly puniſhed.

The Leſbians were engaged in all the wars of the Perſians, the Lacedemonians, Mithridates, and the Romans. The reputation of the men in regard to morals was indifferent, and that of the women ſtill worſe. *A Leſbian life* was an expreſſion generally uſed for a debauched life. This iſland is called at preſent Mitylene: it has around it ſeveral ſmall ones of little importance.

The principal emblems found on the medals of Chios. Chios, or Scio, as it was called by the ancients, all relate to wine: vine tendrils, caſks, and cups. The poets did not think they exaggerated when they called it nectar and ambroſia. If we can credit the inhabitants, this delicious beverage excited the poetical fervour of Homer, who they

ſay was a native of their iſland. A kind of amphitheatre, called the ſchool of Homer, and ſituated in the middle of the beſt vineyard, is ſtill ſhewn.

Were we to deſcribe the government of Chios, we ſhould only repeat what has been ſaid of other cities: monarchy, republicaniſm, tyranny, and ſubjection to the neighbouring iſlands, or to great empires, all ſucceeding each other in the ſame circle, without any ſtriking event to form a variety. It is only remarked, that the Chians having acquired by an act of treachery and ſacrilege an exceeding fertile diſtrict, they were a long time ſcrupulous of employing the productions of it in their ſacrifices. They conſidered the fruits and the corn as prophane, and unworthy of being offered to the gods; but they did not carry their delicacy ſo far as to neglect turning theſe productions to advantage. Chios lies in the centre of eight or ten other ſmall iſlands.

Icaria, &c. Icaria, which takes its name from Icarus, has excellent paſtures, and Patmos convenient ports. The latter conſiſts entirely of rocks, and formerly was a place of exile. Leros produced aloes. Pharmacuſa and Lade were places of retreat for pirates. Julius Cæſar was taken priſoner by them.

Cos. Æſculapius, the god of medicine, had a beautiful temple at Cos, and was honoured there with a particular kind of worſhip. This iſland gave

birth to Hippocrates, the reſtorer of that ſcience: it is honoured by Homer with the epithet of the well peopled. Hippocrates, Senius, and other celebrated phyſicians, formed in this iſland, were not in exiſtence when it merited the epithet beſtowed on it by Homer. Xenophen, phyſician to the emperor Claudius, who pretended to be a deſcendant of Æſculapius, induced that prince to grant an exemption from all taxes to the place of his nativity. Cos, therefore, was under more than one obligation to medicine. This iſland boaſts of having given birth to Apelles, who executed there his magnificent painting of Venus emerging from the ſea. Monarchy, democracy, and ariſtocracy, prevailed in Cos, and it was afterwards ſubject to the Romans. A kind of ſtuff ſo fine as to be abſolutely tranſparent was manufactured formerly in this iſland. It was much eſteemed by the Roman ladies; and beauties who wore it had the pleaſure of believing themſelves clothed, though it ſhewed them almoſt naked. Niſyra, a very ſmall iſland in the neighbourhood, is ſuppoſed to have been detached from Cos. Carpathus, which is not larger, contained, it is ſaid, three cities. Many others in theſe ſeas on account of their ſmallneſs ought to be conſidered rather as rocks than iſlands. The mildneſs of the climate, and the fertility of the little ſoil found in them, attracted inhabitants.

Thera, near Crete, is indebted for its name to Theras, the Lacedemonian, who carried thither Thera.

ſome deſcendants of the Argonauts, of whom the following circumſtance is related. Having been well received by the inhabitants, who gave them not only lands but even wives, theſe adventurers conſpired againſt the proprietors, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of the whole country. The plot, however, was diſcovered, and they were all condemned to death. As the ſentence was to be executed next morning, the women begged permiſſion to take a laſt farewel of their huſbands. This favour being granted, they embraced that opportunity of changing clothes with them, by which means they enabled them to eſcape. Theras, a Spartan king, who after abdicating royalty became tired of living as a ſubject, propoſed to collect theſe foreigners, and to tranſport them beyond the territories of the republic. He accordingly placed himſelf at their head, and the iſland where they landed got the name of Thera.

Ceos. Ceos was ſo populous that a law was enacted, in conſequence of which all thoſe above ſixty years of age were to be poiſoned, in order that the reſt might have a ſufficient ſubſiſtence. Thoſe, indeed, who did not chooſe to ſubmit to the law, were at liberty to quit the iſland when they attained to that age; but they were not allowed to carry any thing with them. The inhabitants of Julis, a city of Ceos, being beſieged by the Athenians, propoſed to maſſacre all the children, that they might not be impeded in the labours neceſſary for their

defenſe by taking care of them. The Athenians, when informed of this reſolution, choſe rather to raiſe the ſiege than to ſuffer them to commit ſo horrid a crime. Ceos is the country of Simonides, who compoſed the firſt verſes ſung at funerals. Cythnus, an iſland in the neighbourhood, contains hot baths.

Seriphus, covered with rocks interſperſed with copper-mines, which render the air unwholeſome, and fertile only in onions, its principal production, was the place to which the Romans ſent thoſe whom they wiſhed to puniſh with the moſt diſagreeable exile. One of theſe exiles once aſked a Seriphian what crime was puniſhed by baniſhment from the iſland. "Perjury," replied the Seriphian. "Well then," returned the other, "go "and take a falſe oath as ſoon as poſſible, that "you may get yourſelf baniſhed from ſo execra-"ble a place." Auguſtus ſent thither an orator, who had ſpoken with too much freedom. Seventeen years exile in the iſland of Crete had not been able to cure him of that fault. Seriphus.

Melos might be held in eſtimation among the atheiſts, if there are any, becauſe it is the country of Diagoras, who firſt denied the exiſtence of the gods. Its alum, its honey, and its waters which cured the itch but occaſioned the dropſy, were eſteemed. Melos.

Siphnus, now Siphanto, and Argentiera, contained mines, the former of lead and the latter of Siphnus, Argentiera Antiparos.

ſilver. The inhabitants, it is ſaid, now conceal them, leſt the Turks ſhould compel them to work in them. Tournefort has deſcribed the caverns of Olearos, better known under the name of Antiparos. It appears that they have been originally marble quarries. They have thrown conſiderable light on the vegetation of ſtones.

Naxos. Naxos, a warlike flouriſhing iſland, produced abundance of excellent wines, and was ornamented with a ſuperb temple, erected in honour of Bacchus. Its fruits are delicious; and the plains are covered with orange, olive, mulberry, and fig-trees. Cedars alſo are found in this iſland. Its marble, which is highly eſteemed, is of a green colour, variegated with white veins. The Athenians ſubdued it; were expelled from it, and afterwards returned. Under the Romans it participated in the common fate of the empire.

Paros. Paros is celebrated for its marble, which muſt have invited thither eminent workmen, for there are few places where ſo many fragments of columns, ſtatues, architraves, and pedeſtals, are to be ſeen. The walls of Parichia, built on the ruins of Paros, are entirely conſtructed of them. It was called formerly the opulent, the powerful, the happy. It was proud of its riches, which at preſent are confined to the produce of a very limited trade. It is the country of Archilochus, the ſevereſt of the ſatiric poets.

Syros. Syros abounded with wine, corn, and other ar-

ticles of proviſion. The air of this iſland is exceedingly ſalubrious. It is the country of Pherecides, one of the moſt learned of the ancient philoſophers, the diſciple of Pittacus the maſter of Pythagoras, and the firſt, it is ſaid, who wrote in proſe, who obſerved the revolutions of the moon, who predicted eclipſes, and who taught the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and tranſmigration, which he borrowed from the Phœnicians. Mycone, Andros, Syros, Tenos, and other neighbouring iſlands preſent nothing remarkable, but good wine and beautiful ruins.

Three temples were erected in the iſland of Delos, the firſt conſecrated to Latona, the ſecond to Diana her daughter, and the third to Apollo. The laſt was one of the moſt ſuperb edifices in the univerſe. This deity gave here formerly oracular anſwers, highly eſteemed on account of their perſpicuity, though not ſo much as thoſe of Delphi, which were exceedingly obſcure, but which could be employed with more certainty. A great part of the iſland belonged to this temple. The iſland itſelf was an aſylum not only for individuals, but alſo for nations. Hoſtile armies have been ſeen to meet here without committing the leaſt outrage againſt each other through reſpect for the place. All the Greeks contributed towards the conſtruction of the temple, and of its magnificent galleries, the ruins of which ſtill exhibit the names of ſeveral kings who encouraged the work. Some of Delos.

them ſent thither gifts which were borne by ſolemn deputations. This iſland is viſited, at preſent, by travellers who are fond of ſearching for the traces of ancient monuments. The earth is ſo covered with ruins and thorns that it has become unfit for cultivation. It has not a ſingle inhabitant: ſuch is the contraſt between ancient and modern Delos.

Lemnos, &c. After Scyros, where Achilles reſided ſome time diſguiſed as a female, in the court of Lycomedes, you paſs four ſmall iſlands, of little importance, and arrive at Lemnos, conſecrated to Vulcan, the habitation of the firſt blackſmiths. His mother Juno was alſo worſhipped in the iſland, and a young female was annually ſacrificed to her. A kind of earth found here, called *terra Lemnia* and *terra ſigillata*, becauſe the bags which contain it bear the impreſſion of a ſeal, has always been conſidered as an excellent remedy againſt poiſon, the bite of ſerpents, and the bloody-flux. It is calcareous earth, which the Romans went in queſt of with religious ceremonies. The modern Greeks practiſe ſome alſo when they collect it. A great part of it is ſent to the grand-ſeignior, and the reſt is ſold on his account. The inhabitants are forbidden to preſerve any of it under pain of death. There was at Lemnos alſo a labyrinth, a work of great magnificence. Imbros and Thaſos contained gold mines.

Samothrace. The iſland of Samothrace was famous on ac-

count of the worſhip paid there to the gods called *cabiri*. The learned are not agreed either in regard to the origin of that word, or to its ſignification. There is reaſon, however, to think that the natives underſtood by it deities exceedingly powerful. Of all the ancient oaths, that which called to witneſs the gods of Samothrace was the moſt ſacred. The ceremonies of initiation uſed in this worſhip ought not to be forgotten, eſpecially as ſome reſemblance will be found in them to thoſe practiſed by a celebrated ſociety of modern times. The perſon to be admitted, ornamented with purple ribands, was placed on a kind of throne, and being crowned with laurel, the prieſts and ſpectators danced around him. The dance concluded with execrations againſt thoſe who might reveal what ſhould take place in their aſſemblies. It is to obſerved that the attribute of a cabiri, as repreſented on medals, is a hammer.

Corcyra, Leucas, Cythera.

It would be vain to ſearch in Corcyra for the gardens of king Alcinous; but near a ſandy and barren diſtrict there is found another which abounds with fruit-trees, ſuch as the olive and fig-tree, vines, &c. and produces alſo rich crops of corn. Theſe are the real gardens. Others of the like kind are found in Leucas and Cythera, the name of which excites the idea of pleaſure, as well as in the Strophades, Echinades, and a multitude of other ſmall iſles. Nature when ſhe conferred on them theſe ornaments ſeemed deſirous

of rendering them the abode of peace and happineſs; yet they have almoſt always been the theatre of foreign wars and domeſtic troubles, or expoſed to the depredation of pirates.

Ægina, Salamis, Eubœa.

Ægina, though exceedingly rocky, was rendered fruitful by the induſtry of its inhabitants. As it was by means of cultivation that they were able to make it productive, the poets ſuppoſed that, after the country had been depopulated by a plague, the gods created men known under the name of Myrmidons, that is to ſay, that a ſet of indolent drones were ſucceeded by a laborious race. We ſhall cloſe this long enumeration of the Greek iſles with Eubœa, a large and beautiful iſland, which like all the reſt was expoſed to external as well as internal wars.

All theſe iſlands have experienced dreadful ravage by fire, and the ſubverſion of flouriſhing cities. The inhabitants, oppreſſors and oppreſſed, in turns, wreſted from each other alternately the palm of liberty, which they moiſtened with the blood of their neighbours, or of their fellow-citizens. Degraded at preſent by the badges of ſlavery under the Turkiſh government, they ſtill lead a peaceful and happy life, provided they pay the taxes. Travellers who have had an opportunity of examining their character, found among the men that delicacy and urbanity which diſtinguiſhed the Greeks; among the women the attractive graces of their anceſtors, and in their feſ-

tivals decency and mirth. As far as we are able to judge from hiſtory, they are happier in their preſent dependence than they were formerly under the egis of liberty, always agitated, and always covered with blood.

MACEDONIA.

Macedonia, between the Ægean ſea, Theſſaly, the Adriatic ſea, and the Strymon.

At the bottom of the gulph which contains this archipelago lies Macedonia. Its limits have varied at different periods, according as fortune was favourable or unfavourable to the Macedonian princes. It was formed into a kingdom by the aggregation of a great many ſmall tribes, the names of which are ſtill preſerved. It is not known at what time that of Macedonians prevailed, nor whether it is derived from a king named Macedo, a deſcendant of Deucalion, or from Mygdonia, a province, converted into Macedonia.

Face of the country.

Macedonia contains a great many mountains, one of which, named Athos, is reckoned to be among the higheſt on the earth. It abounded formerly with altars conſecrated to the heathen deities, and at preſent is covered with monaſteries. Mount Pangæus conceals in its boſom mines of gold and ſilver. Theſe mountains, as well as all Macedonia, ſupply excellent timber, both for architecture and ſhip-building. Formerly, deſerts were unknown here; but at preſent, being leſs populous, there is ſometimes a ſcarcity of proviſions. It has not taken ſo much advantage as

it might of theſe as which waſh its coaſts in regard to foreign commerce, nor of the beautiful rivers by which it is watered for the purpoſes of inland navigation. We do not find here any extraordinary animals, nor any natural or artificial curioſities. The air is keen and ſalubrious. Many people attain here to a great age, and continue vigorous. The plains bordering on the ſea produce corn and oil, and are more fertile than the reſt of the country, which in general is too ſteep and hilly; but it affords paſture to a great number of excellent horſes.

Inhabitants. The anceſtors of the Macedonians, who became gradually maſters of Greece, and afterwards of Aſia, were Argives. Having arrived in this country under a chief, deſcended from Hercules, they continually extended their dominion as much by their prudence as their valour; for they erected no trophies after their victories, and treated as brothers thoſe whom they ſubdued. All theſe people were melted, if I may uſe the expreſſion, into one maſs, and formed only one nation, the diſtinguiſhing character of which was bravery, hardineſs, and ſimplicity.

Government. The government of the Macedonians exhibits a picture of temperate monarchy. Under the authority of their kings they enjoyed more freedom than the people of the greater part of the republics of Greece. Being faithful, and even zealous ſubjects, they ſeem to have carried their affection

for their princes too far, by making a law, or adopting one from Perſia, in virtue of which not only conſpirators, but all their relations were exterminated. Their attachment to their kings did not, however, lead them to idolatrous ſubmiſſion. When they accoſted them, they converſed with them in a familiar manner, and ſaluted them with a kiſs. They loved and did not fear them, becauſe no one could be put to death but by a ſentence of the tribunals, or of the army.

Theſe monarchs were exceedingly modeſt in regard to thoſe ornaments attached to royalty. Magnificent arms and a ſtate-car was all that diſtinguiſhed them from their ſubjects. Their education was ſevere. They tempered the majeſty of the throne with gentle familiarity; ate with their friends; readily admitted their ſubjects into their preſence; and determined cauſes, and even ſuch as were of little importance. All theſe uſages were not the habits of one king, but were perpetuated on the Macedonian throne for ſeveral centuries.

Manners and cuſtoms.

The Macedonians profeſſed the ſame religion as the Greeks. Their principal gods were: Jupiter, whom they honoured as their protector; Hercules, as the tutelary deity of valiant men; and Diana, as the goddeſs of hunting, which was their favourite occupation. They were ſuperſtitious and devout. The kings often performed the ſacerdotal functions, erected ſtatues and altars, and

immolated victims. The Macedonians never deviated from the rules of ſobriety but during their grand entertainments, from which the women were excluded. Young men were not allowed to ſit down at theſe feaſts till they had killed a boar fairly; that is to ſay, with a lance, without the aſſiſtance of toils or nets. They were fond of the chaſe, not only as an exerciſe, but as it gave them an opportunity of diſplaying their courage by braving danger. In the camp they were inſtructed, under the eye of their commanders, in the art of employing their ſtrength and agility; and they executed a military dance, which was not deſtitute of grace: but though intrepid ſoldiers they were timid ſailors.

Laws and Sciences.

The laws emanated from the prince, but before they could be carried into execution it was neceſſary that they ſhould be agreeable to the principles of natural juſtice. An accuſed perſon appeared bound, in a habit ſuited to his diſtreſs, and of whatever rank bore no mark of his dignity. He was never deprived of the right of making his own defenſe. In doubtful caſes torture was allowed; and ſtoning to death was the moſt common puniſhment. The Macedonian year conſiſted of twelve unequal months, which altogether contained as many days as ours. It is to be obſerved, that every four years they had an intercalary day. We are not furniſhed with ſuch ſtriking inſtances of their knowledge in the other

ſciences. We ſhall only remark that they underſtood, in an eminent degree, the art of coining money. Some of their medals bear on one ſide the buſt of the prince, and on the other the name of the city where it was ſtruck—a practice of great uſe to hiſtory. The exergue, ſometimes in the Macedonian language, ſhews that it abſolutely differed from all the other dialects of Greece.

Bravery was natural to the Macedonians. It was ſeconded by excellent diſcipline, and that happy combination of courage and docility which rendered them invincible. Sometimes, however, they were leſs powerful, though always as brave as their neighbours; but when once the genius of their princes had opened the way to great conqueſts, they ſupported them with matchleſs ardour; and to enſure ſucceſs to their projects ſubmitted to the moſt ſevere diſcipline. War then became the buſineſs of the nation. The people were born ſoldiers, and had no other education than what they received in the camp. Military diſcipline.

The Macedonian army, at the period of its greateſt ſucceſs and glory, was compoſed of natives, who formed two thirds of it, and who had no other pay than what they acquired by plunder; Greek auxiliaries, maintained by their republics; and mercenaries, paid by the king. The infantry conſiſted of three kinds of ſoldiers, viz. the light-armed, the peltaſtæ, who were better armed, and the heavy-armed. The laſt formed

the celebrated phalanx, a body terrible in attack, unſhaken in their reſiſtance, and as formidable by the regularity and quickneſs of their movements, when they advanced, as by their firmneſs when they aſſumed a poſition of defenſe.

Though the greater part of the cavalry conſiſted of foreigners, there were among them ſome bodies of Macedonians. When a ſoldier loſt his horſe in battle, or by diſeaſe, the captain was obliged to furniſh him with another from his own ſtable, agreeably to this maxim, that private pomp ought to give way to the public benefit. Certain rewards were appointed for invalids and veterans.

Bucklers and helmets of raw leather, ſwords made either for puſhing or cutting, daggers and pikes, were the offenſive and defenſive weapons of the Macedonians. When the king commanded in perſon, which was almoſt always the caſe, he was diſtinguiſhed from others neither by magnificent clothes, a grand equipage, nor a ſumptuous table. He lived like a common ſoldier; and this frugality was not the virtue of a few kings, but of all from the firſt to the laſt.

The phalanx encamped in the centre; the cavalry on one wing, and the light troops on the other. The ſame order, as far as poſſible, was obſerved while on march. When the ranks of the enemy were broken, the cavalry and light troops purſued; but the phalanx remained conſtantly on

the field of battle, to prevent them from rallying. During the action the officers, and even the king, made an exhortatory addreſs to the ſoldiers. They had a war-cry which they ſent forth all together when they attacked.

The army never encamped without ſurrounding itſelf with a ditch. The tents contained no more than two ſoldiers each: they were made of hides, cut in ſuch a manner that they could be ſewed together; and when inflated with air might, if neceſſary, be employed as rafts for croſſing rivers. The king had only two; one to ſleep in, and another to receive viſits. The army was attended neither by women, children, nor ſuperfluous baggage. The number of the carriages was ſmall, as each ſoldier carried his own neceſſaries. Such were the troops who, iſſuing from a ſmall corner of Europe, extended their dominion even to Africa, and ſubjected to their empire all Aſia, as far as it was then known.

Caranus, who carried a colony from Argos to Macedonia, finding the country inhabited, made himſelf maſter of one of its cities, and afterwards of the whole kingdom. According to the uſual cuſtom of conquerors, he erected trophies; but a fortunate circumſtance cured him of this uſeleſs vanity. Having learned that a lion, iſſuing from the foreſts of Mount Olympus, had deſtroyed one of theſe monuments, he conceived that this was a warning from the gods not to irritate his

Kings. Caranus. 2205.

Trophies.

neighbours by perpetuating their disgrace. He afterwards made it a rule, which he transmitted to his successors, as as maxim of state, never to treat conquered nations as enemies, but to consider them as subjects.

Æropus. Five kings preceded Æropus, who gained a battle when in his cradle. The Macedonians, though brave, had been always conquered by the Illyrians, who ravaged their country. As they imagined that they should combat with more success if they were animated by the presence of their king, who was still at the breast, the chiefs caused him to be carried into the midst of the battle; and whether it was owing to national ardour, or to the dread of being exposed to shame if they abandoned their infant king, the Macedonians fought with such obstinacy, that the Illyrians were defeated.

Amyntas, Alexander. The reign of Amyntas gave birth to the adventure already related, of the young Persian noblemen who obliged that prince to introduce his daughters to them during the licentiousness of a feast. Alexander the king's son avenged the violence offered to his father, and prevented the disgrace with which his sisters were threatened.

This Alexander, who succeeded his father, acted during his whole reign the part of mediator between the king of Persia and the Grecian republics. The latter reproached him sometimes for the duplicity which he employed in his negociations. They gave him to understand, that it

would be much nobler, and more becoming his dignity, to declare for the party who defended the cauſe of liberty, than to crouch, as he did on ſome occaſions, under the yoke of the Aſiatic monarch; but he obtained by this equivocal conduct the advantage of ſecuring his kingdom from the ravages of war, and even of enriching it by the paſſage of troops. There is reaſon, however, to conjecture, that he leaned towards the ſide of the Greeks; for being in the Perſian army he ſent them notice, that the Perſians intended to attack them. Without this information they would have been ſurprized and defeated. "I hope," ſaid he to them, "that you will remember a man who ventured "on ſo dangerous a ſtep through his love towards "the Greeks. It is the intereſt I take in the "ſafety of Greece, which induces me to act in "this manner, being myſelf a Greek by extrac-"tion."

Perdiccas, the ſon of this Alexander, when he aſcended the throne, ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the Thracians, a barbarous nation, the Perſians, the Lacedemonians, and the Athenians, who all endeavoured to involve him in their quarrels, being either ſecret or avowed enemies to each other. He, however, got rid of them by exciting them to mutual hoſtilities, firſt aſſiſting and afterwards deſerting them. Being accuſed of treachery, he recriminated by reproaching them with their inſincerity; and both indeed were right. There

Perdiccas.

is no kind of war which he did not experience;—invaſions, unexpected attacks, regular campaigns, and civil diſſenſions. But it is remarked, that, though a brave and able warrior, he preferred the pen to the ſword, and employed negotiation in preference to arms.

Archelaus. We do not know under what title Archelaus ſucceeded this prince; but the latter left him a powerful kingdom. He was at great pains to ſecure it by erecting fortreſſes; and it appears that he enjoyed a quiet and peaceable life in the company of learned men whom he loved. Euripides died at his court, and he erected a magnificent tomb to his memory. He wiſhed to obtain the friendſhip of Socrates; but this philoſopher, it is ſaid, rejected his ſolicitations, on account of the cruelties he had committed in the beginning of his reign to ſecure his uſurpation, to which it is believed he was indebted for the throne. If this was really the caſe, he fell from it as he had aſcended it, by a conſpiracy which coſt him alſo his life. The crown, however, was transferred to his ſon Oreſtes, ſtill an infant.

Oreſtes. He had the good fortune to find a relation named Æropus, who governed the kingdom with prudence during his minority, under the title of protector, and who afterwards reſtored the ſceptre to his pupil. In the reign of this prince, Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, returning from Aſia with a body of troops, aſked permiſſion to paſs through

Macedonia. Æropus replied, "that he would "take his requeſt into conſideration." "Let him "conſider," returned the haughty Spartan; "as "for us, we ſhall march on." This firmneſs aſtoniſhed the protector, who diſpatched orders that he ſhould every-where meet with a favourable reception. By this precaution he ſaved Macedonia from being pillaged, a misfortune to which the Spartans would have ſubjected any other country, leſs compliant with their wiſhes.

Amyntas II. Alexander II. Perdiccas II.

The remainder of the hiſtory of this country is involved in obſcurity, by the cataſtrophes which placed and diſplaced princes, till Amyntas, who ſecured the throne in his family, and tranſmitted his crown in peace to his ſon Alexander. We may obſerve in theſe two kings the difference between policy and villany. The addreſs of Amyntas deprived him neither of the eſteem of his neighbours nor of the love of his ſubjects; whereas the cunning of Alexander, inſtead of being beneficial to his intereſt, deprived him of the confidence of thoſe with whom he treated, and of the love of the Macedonians. They ſhewed great indifference when he was torn from the throne by a violent death, while ſtill in the bloom of life. One of his relations, named Pauſanias, wiſhed to get poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, to the prejudice of Perdiccas and Philip, the two brothers of the deceaſed king. This uſurper gained the favour of the people; but Eurydice, the mother of

the princes, found aſſiſtance againſt Paufanias in the affection of Pelopidas, an Athenian general. He was choſen arbiter between the competitors, and his deciſion gave the ſceptre to Perdiccas.

As he was apprehenſive that troubles might again break out in Macedonia after his departure, he demanded hoſtages from the competitors. The one demanded from Eurydice was Philip her youngeſt ſon. It was with the utmoſt reluctance that this affectionate mother could be prevailed on to commit a beloved ſon into the hands of ſtrangers; but the high opinion which ſhe entertained of Pelopidas leſſened her uneaſineſs. She earneſtly recommended to him the care of Philip's education, on which this great man promiſed to beſtow every attention, and he indeed fulfilled his engagement. As he paſſed through Thebes he delivered the young prince to his friend Epaminondas, who had at his houſe a Pythagorean philoſopher of high reputation. By this philoſopher, Philip was inſtructed in all thoſe ſciences which ornament the mind; and he was taught the art of war by Epaminondas. While under the protection of this eminent man, the young prince had before his eyes examples of the moſt indefatigable activity, unſhaken firmneſs of ſoul, love of juſtice, diſintereſtedneſs, and candour; but he is accuſed of having retained none of thoſe virtues, but ſuch as were ſuitable to his deſigns.

Ph lip, 2639. While Philip was forming himſelf in the ſchool

of Epaminondas, he received intelligence of the death of his brother Perdiccas, who had been killed in a battle againſt the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of the Macedonians. This prince having left only one ſon, an infant, named Amyntas, Philip with the utmoſt diſpatch repaired privately to Macedonia, where there were already two competitors ſupported by the Illyrians and the Thracians. When he arrived there he found the affairs of government in the greateſt diſorder; the people oppreſſed, and divided in their opinions reſpecting the rights of the monarch; foreign troops called in by the rivals, and no money to enable him to oppoſe the enemies of his country. What a noble career for a young man of twenty-two!

Philip then began to exert thoſe great talents for negociation or war with which he was endowed by nature. He put an end to the domeſtic troubles; gaining over the people by his affability; the great by immenſe promiſes, of which he was always laviſh; and the military by beſtowing on them every mark of eſteem and affection. The pretenders to the throne diſappeared, being either ſatisfied with ſome indemnification or ſubdued. After ſuch great ſucceſs, the nation offered to him, or ſuffered him to aſſume without oppoſition, the place of his nephew; and Philip in a few years became the moſt powerful, and the moſt envied monarch in that part of the world.

The jealouſy of the neighbouring ſtates in re-

gard to this prince was exceedingly pardonable, as they could not fail to obſerve his ambitious projects, though he concealed them with great art. He had pretences always in readineſs. If he attacked Amphipolis, a city which lay very convenient for his purpoſes, he aſſured the Athenians, that it was in order to put an end to the diſſenſions of the inhabitants. If he took Potidea and Pydna, two cities of great ſtrength, it was only to deliver them from the Athenians, who kept garriſons in them, and to reſtore them to the Olynthians, whoſe friendſhip he was deſirous of ſecuring. When any of his courtiers ſeemed aſtoniſhed at his generoſity, he replied: "We muſt oblige "thoſe whom we cannot conquer." But Olynthus had its turn. Philip took poſſeſſion of the whole country between the Neſſus and the Strymon; not, as he ſaid, to make himſelf maſter of the gold and ſilver mines which they contained, but to aſſiſt the inhabitants againſt thoſe reſtleſs neighbours by whom they were threatened. It was of little importance to him whether his ſtratagems were diſcovered after the event, provided they were not diſconcerted in the courſe of the enterprize.

One of the great cauſes of his hatred againſt Demoſthenes was, that this orator gueſſed his intentions; penetrated, as it were, to his thoughts; and pointed out to the Athenians the motives and object of his actions ſo clearly, that they might

have often rendered them abortive, had they not ſhut their eyes againſt the light which Demoſthenes preſented to them. Philip's reſource was to bribe other orators to oppoſe him; but he acknowledged the ſuperiority of Demoſthenes. "He "is not in my pay," ſaid he; "if he choſe to "enter into my ſervice, I would gladly give him "greater appointments than I ever conferred on "any of thoſe who compoſe my houſehold." To characterize the invincible eloquence of this orator, he ſaid: "Iſocrates combats with a foil, Demoſ- "thenes with a ſword."

The orator in his harangues did not treat him indeed with much ceremony. The following is the character which he draws of him, in order to inſpire the Athenians with a dread of his deſigns: I "will ſhew you this fame Philip with whom we are "at war; I will ſhew him to you as he is; covered "with wounds, blind of one eye, lame of one hand "and leg; ready to brave new dangers, and to "give fortune an opportunity of depriving him of "ſome other member, in hopes that the reſt of his "body will live with glory and honour. O Athe- "nians, ſuch is Philip!" The manner in which he loſt his eye is worthy of particular attention; as it may ſerve to ſhew that we ought to deſpiſe no perſon however mean, and that no enemy is unimportant. One Aſter, an excellent markſman, who, as is ſaid, would not miſs a bird flying, being introduced to him during the ſiege of Methone,

Philip replied: "Very well, I ſhall engage him "in my ſervice when I make war on ſtarlings." After, much hurt by this ſarcaſm, retired into the town; and ſome days after, Philip being employed in directing the works, was ſtruck in the eye by an arrow, on which he found inſcribed: "For "Philip's right eye." The king cauſed another to be diſcharged into the city with the following inſcription: "If Philip takes the city he will hang "After;" which he accordingly did. Having, as we may ſay, provoked the inſult, it would have been much better if he had pardoned it, as was the caſe in another circumſtance, of leſs importance indeed, but ſufficient to incenſe a king. The Peloponeſians, to whom he had rendered ſome ſervices, hiſſed his chariot at the Olympic games, which was one of the greateſt inſults that could be offered. Some of his courtiers adviſed him to puniſh this inſolence; but he replied nobly: "If "they hiſs when we render them good offices, "what will they not do when we render them "bad?" There is ſtill more real magnanimity in what he ſaid to the Athenian orators: "I am "much obliged to theſe gentlemen, who by point-"ing out my faults give me an opportunity of "correcting them."

We muſt not omit to mention his valuable letter to Ariſtotle: "You are to know that I "have a ſon; I thank the gods for it; not ſo "much becauſe they have given me one, as on

"account of his being born your cotemporary. "Under your care he will become worthy, I "hope, of ſucceeding us, and of governing Mace- "donia." This ſon was Alexander. The pupil of Epaminondas, and of a philoſopher choſen by that great man, knew well the value of education. The reſpect which Philip ſhewed for juſtice ought to be aſcribed to the efficacy of the good principles inſtilled into his mind from childhood. This reſpect made him bear with patience the ſevere repartee of a woman whom he had condemned after enjoying himſelf at table. "I appeal," cried ſhe— "To whom?" ſaid the king. "To Philip ſober." The monarch reviſed the caſe, and ſent her away ſatisfied. He never ſuffered thoſe who came before him for his deciſion to remain long in ſuſpence, being perſuaded of this truth, that he who is guilty of delaying juſtice thereby forfeits his authority. No human conſideration could induce him to ſtop its courſe. His courtiers having made ſtrong interceſſion for a young man whom he was going to condemn, he replied: "If the ſentence is "againſt him he will be diſhonoured. Well, I "had rather he ſhould be diſhonoured than I."

Philip ſaid, and he knew it by experience, that "no city was impregnable if an aſs loaded with "gold could enter it." But he reſerved this kind of corruption for his enemies. He did not wiſh it to be employed around him. As his ſon laviſhed away a great deal of money on his courtiers, he

reproved him by a letter in the following words: "Young man, how can you imagine that you will "be faithfully ſerved by thoſe whom you daily "corrupt with your money. By this conduct "you run the riſk of making the Macedonians "conſider you, not as their king, but their "treaſurer. Take my word for it, however well "you may diſcharge the latter employment, you "will never be but an indifferent prince."

Alexander ſerved his firſt campaign at the age of fifteen. He was then on one of the frontiers, which ſome turbulent neighbours were attempting to invade. Without informing his father, he collected troops; placed himſelf at their head; and not only ſecured Macedonia from hoſtilities, but carried the war into the enemies' country. Philip was highly pleaſed with this firſt diſplay of his ſon's valour; but fearing that too much ardour might hurry him into ſome raſh enterprize, he recalled him. This young prince accompanied his father at the famous battle of Chæronea, which decided the fate of Greece.

Negociations, carried on with little ſincerity between Philip and the Athenians, had long ſuſpended a dangerous exploſion. At firſt, the Athenians aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of all Greece; but they afterwards lowered their tone, that they might not ſee it paſs into the hands of Philip, and for that purpoſe they employed ſometimes ſtratagem and ſometimes force. Philip always

purſued the accompliſhment of his object, which was, to make himſelf be conſidered by the Greeks as the protector of the weak, and the enemy of tyranny, were it even that of republics; and always ready to eſpouſe the cauſe of thoſe who requeſted his aſſiſtance. He had not failed to engage in the ſacred war, which, on account of a ſmall piece of land taken from the temple of Delphi, ſet all Greece in flames. Philip, however, declared againſt ſacrilege in ſuch a manner as did not inſpire the devout with a high idea of his ſincerity.

The Athenians did not ſuffer the king to be ignorant that they plainly ſaw through his deſigns. Some ſevere letters, written in an affected ſtyle, had paſſed between them. The Athenians made complaints, and Philip replied by reproaches; both were well founded; but a king who acted, at the ſame time, as his own ſecretary, his own general, his own miniſter, and his own treaſurer, had great advantage over a republic where intrigue always preſides in the choice of public officers. Every year it created ten generals. "How happy theſe "people are," ſaid Philip, "to find every year "ten generals, while I, in the courſe of my whole "life, never found but one." This one was Parmenio. But a republic has ſometimes more influence abroad by its agents, and thus Athens formed a powerful league, the force of which was diſplayed in the plains of Chæronea, near Thebes, in Bœotia.

Two bodies worthy of combatting againſt each other, the ſacred band and the Macedonian phalanx, there ſuſtained a mutual attack. The former was compoſed of the flower of the Theban youth, all brothers in arms, who had ſworn to conquer or die together. The phalanx is well known. The left wing was commanded by Alexander. The king, who commanded the right, perceived, with the eye of a general, that the Athenians, after ſome advantage, advanced incautiouſly in the purſuit. "They do not know how to conquer," ſaid he; and immediately falling upon them put them to flight. During the firſt tranſports of his joy there was ſomething ridiculous in his behaviour; but the youth who ſees for the firſt time his brows crowned with the academic laurel, a general who is raiſed by his ſoldiers on the ſhield of victory, a woman in the firſt moment of her triumph over a heart diſputed with her by rivals, all experience ſenſations which ſpurn at reflection: a kind of intoxication, the faults of which are entitled to indulgence.

Philip cauſed to be ſung ironically in his preſence the decree paſſed at the inſtigation of Demoſthenes to excite the Greeks againſt him. He ſpoke with contempt of the Grecian ſtates, and inſulted his priſoners; but a few words from one of them, named Demades, made him ſenſible of the abſurdity of his conduct. "O king," cried Demades, "ſince Heaven has aſſigned to you the

" part of Agamemnon, why do you prefer acting " that of Therſites?" Philip immediately ſet him at liberty, as well as all the other priſoners. Finding themſelves ſo favourably treated, they were encouraged to aſk for their baggage: " I believe," ſaid the king laughing, " they imagine that we " did not fight in earneſt." He, however, granted their demand. Demoſthenes, who was preſent at the battle of Chæronea, fled, and threw away his arms that he might be able to run the faſter. A buſh having caught hold of his robe, he thought he was ſtopped by an enemy, and cried out: " Spare my life." How many orators who, like him, are brave in the ſenate, would in the field imitate his example!

The Athenians, in the utmoſt conſternation, imagined that they ſhould ſoon ſee the conqueror at their gates; and indeed he might have advanced to the very walls; but either through generoſity or policy he offered them peace, which he granted to them on advantageous terms. By this conduct he acquired the applauſe of all Greece. Philip had excited the different ſtates to fit out an armament againſt Perſia, of which he was declared generaliſſimo. The Greeks, having been ſeveral times invited to that country by the various competitors to the Perſian throne, had more than once penetrated thither in large detachments, by which means they had an opportunity of remarking the bad ſtate of the government; its military weak-

neſs; and above all the immenſe booty which might be acquired in that rich country. Theſe motives had induced Ageſilaus, one of the kings of Sparta, to form a plan, if not to overturn the Perſian throne, at leaſt to detach from it thoſe ſtates which lay moſt convenient for Greece. It is not known how far Philip's project extended; but as he was in the vigour of life, at the head of a powerful confederation, and an excellent army, and aſſiſted by good commanders, being himſelf an able general, what had he not reaſon to expect? But a refuſal to liſten to the dictates of juſtice, diſconcerted all his plans.

By a particular diſpoſition of Providence, which may be conſidered as a puniſhment, Philip, who had always fomented the troubles of Greece, found his own court a prey to domeſtic diſſenſion. It is not known what induced him to repudiate Olympias, the mother of Alexander, and the daughter of Neoptolemus, brother of Arymbas king of Epirus. He had carried his love for her ſo far as to commit an act of injuſtice in her favour, by placing the crown of Epirus, after the death of Arymbas, on the head of a ſon of Neoptolemus named Alexander, who was conſequently a brother of Olympias, to the prejudice of Æcidas the ſon of Arymbas. Olympias was a woman of a cunning, haughty, and revengeful diſpoſition. Being diſmiſſed by her huſband, ſhe retired to Epirus; and Philip then married Cleopatra, the niece of

Attalus, a Macedonian nobleman. During the marriage ceremony a violent quarrel arose between Attalus and Alexander. The former took the liberty of saying—"We shall at length have "a legal successor to the crown." "Am I then "a bastard?" cried the son of Olympias; and he immediately threw a cup at the head of Attalus. The latter returned the compliment; swords were drawn, and Philip, forgetting his lameness, attempted to run towards his son, but stumbled and fell. "There," said Alexander, "the Macedonians "will have a chief capable no doubt of passing "from Europe to Asia, when he cannot go from "one table to another without being exposed to "the risk of breaking his neck." After this insolent speech he retired to Epirus, and resided with his mother.

A reconciliation was, however, effected between the father and son; and the latter returned to court. It may readily be believed that he did not behold Attalus afterwards with a favourable eye; and there is reason to think that those who had cause to complain of the uncle of the young queen found at least a comforter in the son of Olympias. Among the malcontents was a young man named Pausanias, to whom Attalus had offered the most disgusting insult. He was continually soliciting justice from the king; but Philip, unwilling to offend his young spouse by punishing her uncle, still temporized, and endeavoured to appease the

young man by promiſes. He imagined that he had entirely ſatisfied him, by appointing him a captain of his guards; but this favour, inſtead of ſuppreſſing his deſire of vengeance, made him only change the object of it, as it gave him an opportunity of directing againſt the perſon who had refuſed him juſtice that blow which was deſtined for the offender.

In this event there are ſome circumſtances worthy of being remarked. The firſt is the ſecurity of Philip, maintained by an oracle, and the flattery of a poet. When he had fully determined on the Perſian expedition, having ſent to conſult the prieſteſs of Delphi reſpecting its ſucceſs, ſhe replied: "The bull is already crowned; his end "approaches; he will ſoon be ſacrificed." The Macedonian king thought he beheld in this oracle the Perſian monarch ready to be offered up as a victim to the Gods of Greece. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtill more deceived by a paſſage in a tragedy, deſtined to repreſent, under borrowed names, Philip already maſter of Aſia. The poet there ſaid: "Your towering hopes are elevated to "the heavens; you wiſh to extend your dominion "to the extremities of the earth. Your life has "its boundaries; yet you ſet none to your ambi-"tion. The moment of your fall is at hand—it "approaches, and nothing can ſecure you from "the fatal blow with which you are threatened." The Macedonian monarch cauſed theſe verſes to

be repeated to him several times; and he enjoyed the high satisfaction of seeing in them, as in a prophesy, the certainty of his triumph.

Another object of remark is, the danger of giving as well as of receiving advice. One who has no other aim than to display his wit, by saying something extraordinary, is perhaps the cause of a crime through the disposition of the person who listens to him. This reflexion may be applied to the sophist Hermocrates and Pausanias. The latter, tormented with gloomy thoughts, and believing himself dishonoured as long as he remained unrevenged, asked Hermocrates, what a man ought to do to render himself famous. The sophist made the following significant reply: "He "must kill him who has performed the greatest "actions;" and he gravely added the reason: "for the reputation of the person who has been "killed will not fail to perpetuate the remem- "brance of the author of his death." What horrid celebrity!

Philip, surrounded by prosperity, was far from suspecting the fate which awaited him. Being ready to depart for Persia, he gave, in great pomp, a solemn audience to the Grecian ambassadors, who came to present to him the vows of the nation for the success of his arms. The monarch thought proper to add to this ceremony games in honour of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, whose hand he had bestowed

on the king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias. Philip himſelf formed a part of the ſpectacle, which commenced with a grand proceſſion of the images of the twelve great deities of Greece. The image of the king, equally ſuperb as the reſt, next followed as a thirteenth divinity:—a preſumption altogether contrary to what a herald proclaimed every day by his order: "Philip, remember that "thou art mortal." In the laſt place, he himſelf appeared alone, clothed in white, with the crown on his head. His guards fell back, both to ſuffer him to be ſeen by the ſpectators, and to ſhew that he was not ſo much guarded by them as by the affection of the people. Pauſanias took advantage of this kind of opening; advanced towards the king; drew forth a dagger from below his robe, and plunging it into his left ſide he fell dead at his feet. The aſſaſſin fled, and had already reached horſes provided for his eſcape; but having entangled himſelf among ſome vine twigs he ſtumbled, and being maſſacred, his death threw a veil of myſtery over the aſſaſſination. It is ſtill doubted whether this crime was that of a conſpiracy, or merely of an individual, an enthuſiaſt for honour and vengeance.

Philip was only forty-ſeven years of age when he died. His political talents are well known. He was affable and courteous in private life, and fond of ſaying obliging things. Having got up one day at a late hour he ſaid, before his whole

court, rubbing his eyes—"I ſlept well laſt night; "but I knew that Antipater was awake." He could not deny himſelf the pleaſure of a bon-mot when it occurred. Two men who had given up a city to him came to complain that his ſoldiers called them traitors. "Let them ſay what they "pleaſe," returned he; "they are ill-bred fel- "lows, accuſtomed to give to things their proper "names." He was well acquainted alſo with the delicacies of decorum, and knew how to appre- ciate their value. Being one day ſeated on his tribunal, a ſlave, who obſerved that a certain part of his perſon was not ſufficiently covered, ſignified to ſome of thoſe around, that he wiſhed to ſpeak with the king in private. Being permitted to ap- proach, he whiſpered to the monarch: "Sire, it "would be more decent if you let your robe fall "a little lower." "Set this man at liberty," ſaid he, "I did not before know that he was one "of my friends." If it were poſſible to deny that intemperance, which fills a court with the moſt ſcandalous actions, is an unpardonable vice in a prince, becauſe it deſtroys morals, and that the ambition which cauſes the blood of the people to be ſhed is a crime, we might conſider Philip as one of the moſt perfect monarchs that ever filled a throne. He left two children by each of his law- ful wives, with ſeveral others by his women and concubines, and even one by a female dancer named Lariſſa.

Alexander, 2665.

We have a proof in Alexander, that it is poſſible to be a man, and a great man, at the age of twenty. This prince was no older when his father left him the kingdom of Macedonia. He had for governor Leonidas, a relation of the queen, whoſe manners were pure and auſtere. Lyſimachus, eſteemed on account of his mildneſs and moderation, diſcharged the office of preceptor, and Ariſtotle gave him a more extenſive taſte for the arts and the ſciences. From the poems of Homer, which he ſtudied with great aſſiduity, he derived thoſe exalted ſentiments which diſtinguiſh the hero from the great prince; but it was from nature he received that genius which embraces the moſt immenſe objects, that accuracy of judgment which directs great enterprizes, and that diſcernment which teaches how to chooſe the propereſt means.

Alexander, when he aſcended the throne, kept around him the generals and miniſters of his father. He conſulted them reſpecting public buſineſs; but when he had heard their opinions he decided alone, and executed ſpeedily. On firſt aſſuming the government he had great difficulties to encounter. His own ſubjects, as well as foreigners, conſidered him as a child, incapable of accompliſhing the vaſt projects of Philip. The Athenians, in particular, entertained this idea, and endeavoured to diffuſe it abroad. One of the young king's firſt meaſures was to make himſelf be feared in his own court, by inflicting ſevere puniſh-

ment on a conſpirator whom he had been adviſed to ſpare. He aſtoniſhed the Macedonians, and gained the confidence of that warlike people by his brilliant ſucceſs againſt the inhabitants of Thrace, a brave and obſtinate nation. He purſued them amidſt the greateſt dangers, and compelled them to ſue for peace. Their ambaſſadors having waited upon him at his camp, the young conqueror, elated on account of the high opinion which he ſuppoſed that theſe people had conceived of his military talents, and imagining that he ſhould receive a flattering anſwer, aſked what they feared moſt in the world. Their reply was: "We fear nothing but leſt the ſun and ſtars "ſhould fall upon our heads." Alexander, who was pleaſed with this haughtineſs, entertained a greater eſteem for them, and treated them with honour.

Alexander had juſt finiſhed this glorious campaign, when he learned that all Greece was ready to attack his kingdom. This ſtorm had been excited by the impetuous eloquence of Demoſthenes, the ancient and irreconcilable enemy of Macedonia. Many ſtates engaged in this league with the more readineſs, as a report was ſpread that Alexander had been killed in his laſt expedition. On this report the Thebans, who in the life-time of Philip had been obliged to receive a Macedonian garriſon into their citadel, enticed the two commandants to the market place, and put them to death. When

Alexander was informed of this event he marched againſt Thebes. "Demoſthenes," ſaid he, "in his "harangues called me a child while I was eſta- "bliſhing peace in Illyria; a youth while I was "carrying on war in Thrace; but I will ſhew him "below the ramparts of Athens that I am a full- "grown man."

The city of Thebes made an obſtinate defenſe; but this only tended to increaſe the ſeverity of its fate. Alexander offered the inhabitants a general amneſty on condition of their delivering up the guilty. Being miſled by their orators, they rejected this offer; and, like preſumptuous republicans, even inſulted the beſiegers. Alexander took the city by aſſault; cauſed it to be raſed to the foundation; ordered all the inhabitants who had eſcaped the maſſacre to be ſold by public auction; and forbade the rights of hoſpitality, or any aſſiſtance to be given to the Thebans, who might ſave themſelves by flight. He repented, it is ſaid, of this ſeverity, and afterwards treated with great mildneſs and humanity ſuch of the fugitives as he could find.

This dreadful example ſtruck a terror into the Greeks, and induced them to confer the chief command on him who had it in his power to aſſume it. The Athenians ſent deputies to the conqueror, from whom they experienced a friendly reception; but he required that they ſhould give up to him Demoſthenes and eight other orators,

as the authors of all the troubles of Greece. He, however, ſuffered them to let the latter eſcape; but he purſued Demoſthenes, who put an end to his exiſtence by poiſon: the uſual fate of factious leaders, if they do not periſh by a more cruel death. It was at Corinth that Alexander received the generalſhip of all Greece. In that city he had an interview with Diogenes, who by the viſit of this prince has acquired more celebrity perhaps than he deſerved. Opinions may be divided in regard to the anſwer which he gave to the king of Macedonia, and the reflexion of the prince. The latter having aſked the philoſopher if there was any thing which he could do for him, the cynic replied: "I only wiſh you would ſtand a little "aſide, and not deprive me of the benefit of the "ſun." The courtiers were offended at this expreſſion, which they conſidered as a mark of inſolence; but Alexander, looking at them gravely, ſaid: "Were I not Alexander I ſhould wiſh to "be Diogenes." Does this anecdote exhibit in Diogenes a laudable indifference for riches, or complacency in the pride of refuſal? And was the monarch's reflexion the conſequence of his admiration at the contempt of worldly grandeur, or of a deſire to render himſelf illuſtrious in whatever manner he could?

Alexander when he ſet out on his grand expedition diſtributed among his ſoldiers and courtiers all his hereditary property, and gave to his friends

a variety of donations. Perdiccas, whom he wiſhed to gratify with ſome preſent, having aſked him what he would reſerve for himſelf, he replied: "Hope." "Well," returned Perdiccas, refuſing his preſent, "allow one of thoſe who mean to "participate in your dangers to ſhare alſo in your "hopes." When he paſſed through Delphi he was deſirous of conſulting the oracle; but the prieſteſs refuſed to place herſelf on the tripod. On his attempting to force her, ſhe ſaid: "My ſon, "you are invincible." "It is enough," replied Alexander, "I accept the omen." He overcame with no leſs dexterity the difficulty reſpecting the gordian knot, which he cut when he found himſelf incapable of untying it.

When he arrived at the ruins of Troy he cauſed victims to be ſacrificed in honour of the heroes whoſe remains were depoſited in the tombs around Ilium, and particularly of Achilles, from whom he pretended to derive his deſcent. "Achilles," ſaid he, "was doubly happy in having ſuch a "friend as Patroclus, and ſuch a poet as Homer "to celebrate his exploits." Hephæſtion, who was Alexander's favourite, making a ſecret alluſion to the friendſhip of the king, crowned with flowers the tomb of Patroclus. In imitation of Agamemnon, who, like him, had been generaliſſimo of the Greeks, the Macedonian gave feſtivals to his army, and exhibited funeral games, at which he himſelf preſided, always accompanied by a prieſt, or ſooth-

ſayer, who ſupplied near his perſon the place of Calchas.

After the paſſage of the Granicus, Alexander ſubjected Halicarnaſſus, which had been defended by Perſians, to the ſame fate as Thebes. It was raſed to the foundation, and reduced to aſhes. The Marmarians, who inhabited a ſmall city on the confines of Lycia, eluded the efforts of the conqueror; but in a manner exceedingly cruel. Having ſuſtained two aſſaults, the old men exhorted them to ſurrender; but as they refuſed, they deſired the young men to put them to death, together with their women and children, and then to force their way through the enemy. This advice was adopted. Each of the warriors repaired to his home, gave a feaſt to his wife and children, and after the repaſt, having ſhut the door of his houſe, ſet it on fire. When the conflagration became general, they cut their way through the Macedonian camp, and by theſe means eſcaped: a dreadful extremity, which throws as much guilt on thoſe who were the cauſes of it, as on thoſe by whom it was executed. As the young monarch was not yet at a very great diſtance from his kingdom, he ſent back the Macedonians who had married in the courſe of the year to ſpend the winter with their wives. He then began to make a diſtribution of kingdoms. He reſtored to the throne a queen of Caria, named Ada, who had been diſplaced by a perſon under the protection of Darius.

As ſhe had no other means of ſhewing her gratitude for this ſervice, ſhe ſent Alexander ſome delicate viands, and made an offer of ſupplying him with excellent cooks. But Alexander replied: "My governor has provided me with "better cooks than any which you can procure. "Long marches in the morning give me a good "appetite for my dinner; and a ſlight repaſt at "dinner makes me enjoy my ſupper with double "reliſh."

A man who ſhould viſit as many countries as Alexander conquered, would be accounted a great traveller. From Macedonia he proceeded along the coaſt of the Mediterranean; advanced to Egypt; traverſed the deſerts of Lybia; viſited the Red Sea, and the Perſian Gulph; penetrated to India; attacked the Scythians; and explored the countries around the Caſpian Sea, and the Palus Mœotus. In a word, he overran in every direction the interior part of that vaſt continent; taking towns, fighting battles, ſcaling rocks, braving both the intenſe cold of the mountains and the ſcorching heat of the plains; and enduring with patience, hunger, thirſt, fatigue, pain, and wounds, at the head of an army, intrepid by his example, and like him invincible. Since opinion has attached the idea of heroiſm to the grandeur, number, and difficulty of exploits, we may ſay, that no man is a hero if Alexander be not entitled to that qualification; eſpecially when we conſider, that in the

ſhort ſpace of ten years he formed an empire more extenſive than any that ever exiſted.

But our admiration is ſucceeded by a painful ſentiment, a kind of indignation, when we aſk what was the end and motive of theſe warlike expeditions. What madneſs to attack peaceable nations; to ravage their plains, burn their towns, and drag away their unfortunate inhabitants as captives. Theſe ſports of heroiſm deſerve to be condemned by the eye of reaſon. In this point of view, Alexander was only a ſcourge, the remembrance of whom ought to be effaced from the annals of the world. His hiſtory ought to finiſh here, did it not preſent ſome features leſs diſguſting than thoſe ſanguinary atrocities which have been called conqueſts.

It may readily be ſuppoſed that after the battle of Iſſus, Alexander would ſoon loſe the auſtere manners of Macedonia, and become not inſenſible to the delicacies and luxury of Aſia. When maſter of the camp of Darius he was fond of ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded by the pomp of the conquered monarch—"Let us go," ſaid he, "and "refreſh ourſelves in the bath of Darius." After enjoying the bath and a ſumptuous repaſt, he was conducted into a magnificent apartment. Being ſtruck with the ſplendour and riches which he ſaw diſplayed there in profuſion, he could not help exclaiming with a kind of tranſport: "This is "really being a king!" A like obſervation might

be made in regard of his journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He expoſed his army to the danger of periſhing in the ſand, merely that he might have the ſatisfaction of being declared the ſon of the deity who was worſhipped in that ſacred place. His mother Olympias was diſpleaſed that her ſon's vanity ſhould revive old ſuſpicions, which ſhe rather wiſhed to be forgotten: ſhe therefore wrote to him, and begged that he would not involve her in a quarrel with Juno. Olympias reſided in Macedonia, ſurrounded by every pleaſure, but deſtitute of authority. Antipater, whom Alexander had left there as governor, found it extremely difficult to confine within the preſcribed bounds a haughty and imperious mother, who was ſure of her ſon's affection. Having one day complained to Alexander in a long letter, the monarch, after he had read it, ſaid: "Antipater does "not know that one ſingle tear of a mother can "efface a thouſand ſuch letters." He however ſtill continued him as governor.

But his uneaſineſs reſpecting diſtant objects was nothing in compariſon of that excited by a plot againſt his life, and the conſequences it produced. A ſpirit of diſcontent; become contagious in his army among the chiefs, jealous of each other on account of the favours ſo laviſhly conferred on them by the king, was communicated from them to the ſoldiers, who did not think themſelves ſufficiently rewarded. Alexander, when informed of

this mutinous diſpoſition, only ſaid: "It is the "fate of kings to do good, and to incur blame." But among the malcontents there was one man of more daring courage, who did not confine himſelf to murmurs. He formed a deſign of aſſaſſinating Alexander, and communicated his intention to ſome of his friends. The ſecret thus confidentially circulated, was told to a man, who being frightened at the project, waited upon Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, revealed to him the plot, and begged him to procure an audience of the king. Philotas put off the informer from time to time for three days; but the latter addreſſed himſelf to another, who communicated the affair to Alexander. The indifference which Philotas had ſhewn in regard to the diſcovery, and his delaying to inform the king of it, gave the latter great uneaſineſs. When Philotas was interrogated on the ſubject, he replied, that the plan had appeared to him ſo badly concerted, that he conſidered it as impoſſible to be carried into execution; and that on this account he had thought it improper to alarm the king. Alexander admitted, or ſeemed to admit, this excuſe, and he even invited Philotas to his table.

This officer was a brave and generous man, and diſtinguiſhed by his liberality towards his friends. One of them, it is ſaid, having come to borrow a ſum of money from him, his ſteward replied: "that he had not in his hands enough for that pur-

" poſe." Upon which Philotas ſaid: " Have you " not my plate and clothes? Sell them all, rather " than ſuffer one of my friends to be in want." In other reſpects he was haughty and proud, exceedingly vain of his merit, and imprudent in his expreſſions, if it be true as related, that he one day ſaid—" What would Philip have been without " Parmenio?" His father alarmed, therefore, by his aſpiring diſpoſition, and foreſeeing his fall, ſaid to him: " My ſon, make thyſelf little."

As envious perſons are never wanting in courts, Philotas, being of ſuch a character, could not fail to become an object of their malicious inſinuations. They revived therefore the ſuſpicions of Alexander, who cauſed him to be ſeized, and put to the rack. He confeſſed the conſpiracy, named his accomplices, and even accuſed his father; but when carried before the tribunal of the army, according to the Macedonian cuſtom, he retracted his confeſſion, which he ſaid had been extorted from him by the ſeverity of his torture. He was, however, condemned and executed. Whether the king believed Parmenio to be guilty, or thought it dangerous to ſuffer him to ſurvive his ſon, he ſent aſſaſſins to put him to death in his government, where he lived retired and in peace.

Every body was not convinced of the guilt of Philotas, and Alexander was ſtill leſs forgiven on account of the death of his father. It was ſuppoſed, that as the prince had reſolved to claim

marks of honour which the Macedonian pride could not endure, he with pleaſure embraced this opportunity to get rid of thoſe who might have oppoſed his deſigns. Some events which afterwards take place ſeemed too much to confirm this ſuſpicion.

Alexander's court had become extremely brilliant by the concourſe of great lords, princes, and even kings, who came to ſolicit his favour. The mind of the monarch was poiſoned by their flattery, while he was charmed with their exceſſive praiſe and adoration. He was offended at not being treated with the ſame marks of reſpect by the Macedonians. The latter, on the other hand, the more they beheld him abandoned to Perſian effiminacy, and liſtening to adulation, which raiſed him above human nature, the more they endeavoured to recal him to the auſterity of his early habits, and to make him baniſh from his heart the leaven of pride which fermented in it. They indeed might have been ſucceſsful, had they poſſeſſed the art of mixing with their remonſtrances thoſe blandiſhments calculated to heal his wounded ſpirit.

But military openneſs is a ſtranger to ſuch arts. Clitus, a veteran who had ſaved Alexander's life at the battle of Granicus, being at table with the king, and hearing him extolled above Caſtor and Pollux, and even Hercules, could not contain his indignation. He ſtarted up, therefore, and ſaid;

"I cannot bear ſuch ridiculous language, by which "you inſult the gods, while you depreciate an- "cient heroes in order to tickle the ears of a "living prince." He added other ſevere expreſſions, which threw Alexander into a violent paſſion. The king called for his guards to ſeize him; but as no one appeared, he became quite furious, and cried out: "I am now in the "ſame condition as Darius in the hands of Beſſus; "I have nothing but the empty title of king;" and at the ſame time ſnatching up a pike belonging to one of his guards, run Clytus through the body, and laid him dead on the ſpot. The crime was no ſooner committed than paſſion gave way to repentance. Alexander deplored his misfortune with loud cries of lamentation; ſhut himſelf up in his apartment; refuſed all nouriſhment; and could be prevented from deſtroying himſelf only by the prayers and entreaties of his whole army. He had ſtill the misfortune, on this occaſion, to be ſecured againſt remorſe by the flattery and ſpecious reaſoning of a ſophiſt, named Anaxarchus; who addreſſed him as follows: "Is this then the "Alexander to whom the eyes of the whole "world are directed? He melts into tears like "a weak man who has become a ſlave to the "opinions of the vulgar. Ought he who is a ſu- "preme law to his ſubjects to dread the reproach "of any perſon upon earth? Have you forgot "that Jupiter is repreſented ſitting on his throne

" with law on the one ſide, and juſtice on the " other, to ſhew that the actions of a ſovereign " are always juſt and lawful?" O flatterers! ye poiſoners of kings! ye ſcourges of the people! exclaims, with a proper ſentiment of indignation, the hiſtorian of Alexander.

Theſe odious principles ſoon extinguiſhed in Alexander's mind every emotion of repentance. An idea was even entertained of making the Macedonians kneel before the king in the ſame manner as the Perſians. This plan was concerted by ſome of the mean courtiers, poets, cringing paraſites, ſophiſts, and thoſe men who barter dignity of mind for the favour of the great. They reſolved that Alexander ſhould be a god, and that he ſhould receive divine honours. This propoſal was made at table by the ſame ſhameleſs flatterer Anaxarchus. Calliſthenes, the friend of Ariſtotle, who had been attached to Alexander from infancy, ſeeing that the Macedonians, thrown into great conſternation by this propoſal, obſerved profound ſilence, began an harangue, in which he drew a diſtinction between the honours due to the gods and thoſe which belong to men, however great they may be: " Temples, altars, libations, ſacri- " fices, and hymns," ſaid he, " to the former; " praiſes to the latter. Have not the gods," added he, " juſt cauſe to be incenſed when the ho- " nours of adoration are offered to humble mor- " tals? They were not beſtowed upon Hercules

" till after his death; till prescribed by the oracle " of Delphi. O, Alexander, never forget Greece! " When you return thither, can you compel free " men to adore you as a god. If you object, in " reply, that Cyrus was adored by his subjects, " and that since that period this custom has pre- " vailed in regard to the monarch of the Medes " and Persians, whose place you now occupy, re- " collect how the Scythians, a poor and barba- " rous people, reproved his chimerical pride; how " other Scythians obliged Darius himself to ac- " knowledge that he was only a man. Were not " Xerxes and Artaxerxes, kings honoured as gods " by their subjects, both seen to fly before the " Grecian armies? and did not Darius lately do " the same before Alexander?"

The king's pride was greatly hurt when he heard this bold and manly address; but he did not choose, or was afraid, to carry matters too far with the Macedonians who were his guests. A kind of accommodation took place, in consequence of which it was determined, that those to whom the king drank should rise up, and after saluting him, approach to receive a kiss. This ceremony was first complied with by some of the Persian lords, who saluted Alexander by adoration, according to the custom of their country. Some of the Macedonians, however, avoided it; and others turned it openly into ridicule. " Hit it a little harder," said a Macedonian to a Persian, who as he pro-

ſtrated himſelf touched the ground with his forehead. Calliſthenes, when it came to his turn, would not throw himſelf proſtrate, and therefore when he advanced to receive his kiſs, Alexander puſhed him back; which made Calliſthenes ſay, as he went out—"I have loſt only a kiſs." But he paid dearly afterwards for this ſarcaſm.

Thoſe who endeavour to vindicate Alexander ſay that he was not ſo void of ſenſe as to conſider himſelf a god; and they even quote an expreſſion that eſcaped from him during the pain which he experienced by the dreſſing of a wound: "I "am called the ſon of Jupiter, but my wound "tells me I am a man." They aſſert, therefore, that his deſign was to familiarize the Greeks to the Perſian manners, in order that they might form only one people; and that with the ſame view he cauſed the young Perſians to be inſtructed in the Macedonian tactics: but this intention was a crime in the eyes of conquerors, who were filled with indignation to think that an idea was entertained of raiſing the conquered to the ſame rank as themſelves. This diſpoſition of mind enabled one of his guards, named Hermolaus, to find accomplices to aſſiſt him in avenging a private injury.

Alexander's conduct towards this young man had been highly criminal. The latter, ſeeing a boar one day ruſhing towards the king, ran up, and pierced him with his lance. The king, in-

cenſed becauſe the precipitation of one of his guards had deprived him of an opportunity of diſplaying his courage and addreſs, cauſed him to be publicly ſcourged, and his horſe to be taken from him. His companions, who were witneſſes of this degrading inſult, participated in his feelings, ſo that it was not difficult to make them ſhare in his reſentment. They agreed to diſpatch the king in his ſleep; and it was owing merely to an unforeſeen accident that the crime was not committed.

In Alexander's camp there was a Syrian woman who pretended to foretel future events; but ſhe uttered her predictions in ſo ſtrange and ridiculous a manner that ſhe was generally conſidered as a fool. As her propheſies, however, had ſometimes been juſtified by the event, the king, whoſe mind was tinctured with ſuperſtition, wiſhed that ſhe might at all times have acceſs to him. On the night which the conſpirators had marked out for the execution of their deſign, Alexander, having drank pretty late with his friends, was retiring to his apartment, but the Syrian threw herſelf in his way, and as if agitated by ſome convulſive movement deſired him to return, and to ſpend the whole night in drinking. The king immediately obeyed; and the conſpirators being thus diſconcerted one of them revealed the plot.

Hermolaus and his accomplices being arreſted, he addreſſed his judges in the following words:

"A man of a firm and courageous mind could "not suffer, without a desire of vengeance, the in- "dignities to which I have been subjected by the "king; but I am not the only object of his un- "just passion. My country has been insulted in "the most cruel manner. The unfortunate Phi- "lotas was condemned to death, though no satis- "factory evidence of his guilt had been produced. "Is there the smallest pretence for justifying the "assassination of Parmenio? How many victims "have been sacrificed on mere suspicion? It is "not long since we saw Clitus massacred in the "midst of an entertainment; the manners and "dress of the Greeks exchanged for those of the "Medes and Persians; and edicts issued to com- "pel us to adore as a god a man abandoned "to drunkenness and luxury, and to other vices "as shameful to himself as fatal to his subjects. "It was to give liberty to the Macedonians and "myself that I wished to put to death so odious "a tyrant." These words, which were rather a recrimination than a defense, hastened the sentence against Hermolaus and his accomplices. He was stoned to death by the soldiers. Callisthenes, as having had a share in the conspiracy, was at the same time arrested; but it appears that there were only presumptive proofs against him on account of his being a friend of Hermolaus. His real crime, however, was the high estimation in which he was held, and which gave him great influence

with the Macedonian youth, whom he was ſuſpected of inſpiring with ſentiments contrary to the wiſh of the king reſpecting divine honours. It is uncertain in what manner he was put to death; but it muſt have been cruel, ſince there is little difference between being tortured and affixed to a croſs, or dragged about loaded with irons in the train of the army in an open carriage, in which he is ſaid to have died.

Alexander's character after this period appears to have become much more ſevere. He ſeemed to have no other pleaſure than that of ravaging, ſubduing, and deſtroying wherever he experienced reſiſtance. He employed fire and ſword to accompliſh his purpoſes; delighted in danger, and expoſed himſelf to it with a kind of heedleſs fury. Temerity, indeed, often procured him unexpected ſucceſs; becauſe his ſoldiers, animated by his example, and afraid of ſuffering him to periſh, made the moſt uncommon efforts. It was by forcing his way through ſuch dangers that he arrived on the frontiers of India, where he found two kings, whoſe conduct deſerves praiſe, according to the kind of merit that may be moſt eſteemed. Thoſe who ſet the higheſt value on that dignified pride called magnanimity, will admire Porus, who had the courage to reſiſt the impetuoſity of Alexander. Thoſe who prize the milder virtues, with that inſinuating policy ſo uſeful to the people, will prefer Taxiles, who opened his ſtates to the torrent,

and ſuffered it to flow off without the leaſt damage to his kingdom. "Why," ſaid he to Alexander, "ſhould I ſuffer my ſubjects to be deſtroyed, ſince "you have no deſign to deprive us of our fruits "and our water, the only things neceſſary for "the preſervation of life, and conſequently thoſe "only for the defenſe of which we ought to ex-"poſe ourſelves to battle? In regard to thoſe "things which in general are called riches, if I "have more than you, it will give me pleaſure "if you accept of a ſhare. On the other hand, "if your riches are ſuperior to mine, I ſhall not "be ſo proud as to refuſe being under an obli-"gation to you, nor ſo baſe as to repay your "kindneſs with ingratitude." Alexander, affect-ed by the liberality of the Indian monarch, re-ceived him into his friendſhip, and ſuffered his ſubjects to enjoy peace. Porus called forth his forces, fought, and was defeated; loſt two ſons in battle, was himſelf wounded, and would have ſeen his kingdom ravaged had it not been for the generoſity of the conqueror, who made a point of behaving in a manner ſuitable to the no-ble pride of the vanquiſhed foe. "How do you "wiſh to be treated?" ſaid Alexander. "As a "king," replied Porus. Alexander not only re-ſtored to him his dominions, but added other pro-vinces to them, and by theſe means acquired a faithful ally.

Always inflamed with the ardour of conqueſt,

Alexander ſtill meditated new exploits. It might have been ſaid that he was reſolved not to ſtop, but at the extremities of the world. His ſoldiers, however, were not of the ſame diſpoſition. Inſtead of looking forwards to other victories, they only wiſhed to quit theſe diſtant climes in order to return to their own country. When they became acquainted with Alexander's deſigns, a ſpirit of diſcontent began to manifeſt itſelf in the army. "Are we then made of iron," ſaid they, "to endure the fatigue which awaits us? We are "treated like dogs who are fed to be let looſe on "thoſe whom their maſters wiſh to be torn to "pieces. No—we will advance no farther; for "thoſe muſt be fools who condeſcend to ſacrifice "their lives to pleaſe the caprice of one man." The monarch when informed of theſe murmurs harangued his army; held forth to them ſuch incitements to glory as ſeemed likely to animate their courage, and entreated them after conquering Aſia not to lay down their arms till they had ſubdued the univerſe. He poſſeſſed eloquence, and was beloved by his ſoldiers; but his ſpeech produced no effect, and they obſerved a gloomy ſilence.

They, however, turned their eyes towards one of their officers, named Cœnus, whoſe merit was well known to the whole army, and alſo to the king himſelf. Affected by the dejection of his ſoldiers, he had the generoſity to plead their cauſe.

He repreſented to the king that men never reſolved to expoſe themſelves to great fatigue, but in the hopes of one day enjoying the ſweets of peace: "Your army," ſaid he, "has decreaſed "in number; and almoſt all thoſe who compoſe "it can with difficulty ſuſtain the weight of their "arms. Deign, therefore, to conſider them as "invalids. They hope from your goodneſs that, "in conſideration of their former ſervices, you "will conduct them back to their country. There "you will find young men, who, excited by the "example of your bravery, will be ready to follow you in any new expeditions which you may "wiſh to undertake."

This ſpeech was by no means agreeable to Alexander. He diſſolved the aſſembly; and in another, convoked next day, declared that he was reſolved to advance with ſuch of his ſoldiers as would conſent to follow him. "Let thoſe," ſaid he, "who are ſo fond of their native country "return to Macedonia. Go, ſoldiers, and tell that "you left your king in the midſt of his enemies." This attempt was equally fruitleſs. As no one offered to follow him, Alexander, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, retired to his tent; where he remained two days without ſuffering his moſt intimate friends to approach him. On the third day he appeared with a grave and glooiny countenance, and having ordered a ſacrifice, the hauruſpex pronounced that the omens were not favourable. "We muſt then

" return," ſaid the king, " ſince the gods and " my army require that I ſhould advance no " farther." From a ſtate of the deepeſt ſadneſs, the army proceeded to the utmoſt tranſports of joy. They then ſaluted the king with loud acclamations, crying out that, " though invincible to " the reſt of the world, he had ſuffered himſelf " to be overcome by their prayers." The diſcontent of a whole army expreſſed in their countenances, without threats, without inſolent complaints, and with reſpectful firmneſs; the ſenſibility of the ſoldiers, grieved at being obliged to diſpleaſe their general, and their joy on recovering his favour; all form ſtriking features in an event more glorious, perhaps, for Alexander than even his moſt ſplendid victories.

He put himſelf at their head to return; but he did not conduct them by the ſhorteſt route, nor that freeſt from danger and fatigue. Even when retreating he ſought out nations to combat and ſubdue. He expoſed himſelf to the danger of loſing his life in a town belonging to the Oxydracæ, by jumping among the enemy from the top of the walls, which he had ſcaled, and was with difficulty delivered wounded and half dead. His march was long and laborious. The ſoldiers were expoſed to great ſuffering, ſometimes from a ſcarcity of proviſions, ſometimes from the want of water, and ſometimes from both. One ſultry day, after being expoſed to the ſcorching ſun, in a

ſandy plain, while the whole army were tormented with thirſt, a little muddy water was brought to the king, in the hollow of a buckler, as a moſt valuable preſent. He received it with gratitude, and poured it out on the ground, in the view of his ſoldiers: a painful extremity! but an encouraging example of ſelf-denial!

In paſſing through thoſe places which he had already traverſed when he ſubdued them, Alexander examined the conduct of the governors; puniſhed ſome, and rewarded others; enquired how juſtice had been adminiſtered, and what was the ſtate of the finances; gave orders for embelliſhing the cities, traced out highways, cauſed bridges to be conſtructed, and in every thing diſplayed a ſuperior knowledge of government.

The nearer he approached to Babylon, where it is ſuppoſed he intended to fix his reſidence, the more he endeavoured, we may ſay, to incorporate the Perſians with the Macedonians, in order to form of both one nation. With this view he eſpouſed two princeſſes of the blood-royal, one of whom, named Statira, was the daughter of Darius: another Perſian lady of great beauty, named Roxana, he had married before. He gave in marriage to Hephæſtion another daughter of Darius. This example was imitated by his favourites, for whom about eighty young women were ſelected from the nobleſt of the Perſian families. All theſe marriages took place on the

ſame day. The king loaded them all with preſents, as well as his ſoldiers, who had taken Perſian wives to the number of ten thouſand. He alſo diſcharged their debts: offices were eſtabliſhed where the money was paid without any enquiries, leſt ſhame, on account of the manner in which the debt was contracted, might prevent the creditor from demanding what was due to him. In compliance with the general wiſh of the army, he decreed golden crowns to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the courſe of the expedition; and he reviewed, with great ſatisfaction, thirty thouſand young Perſians, who had been trained by his order to the military exerciſes. They were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Epigoni*; that is, ſucceſſors.

This title was exceedingly impolitic, as it gave the Macedonians reaſon to ſuſpect, that if they excited any diſcontent, or wiſhed to retire, there were troops ready to ſupply their place. They openly expreſſed their ſuſpicion when the king, after ſettling the affairs of Perſia, was deſirous, before he returned to Macedonia, to form a kind of ſelect army, by diſbanding part of his troops. For this purpoſe he cauſed a proclamation to be made, that thoſe unwilling to ſerve, on account of age, wounds, infirmity, or any other reaſon, were at liberty to retire; but that he would reward in the nobleſt manner thoſe who ſhould continue their ſervice. A great part of the army, jealous on ac-

count of the favours conferred on the Perſians, declared they would return. "Since it is the barbarians alone," ſaid they, "who enjoy your favour, let them aſſiſt you to ſubdue the world:" and ſome of them inſolently added: "You may carry on war if you chooſe with your father Ammon; as for us, we are reſolved to ſerve you no longer."

When Alexander heard this ſpeech he ſtarted from his throne, cauſed the ringleaders of the mutiny, whom he pointed out, to be ſeized, and ordered thirteen of them to be puniſhed. The reſt were ſo intimidated that they obſerved ſilence. Having ſaid a few words to them reſpecting their ingratitude he retired to his tent, where he remained two days without ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen. On the third day he appeared; admitted the Perſians, become his relations by alliance, to kiſs his hand, and conferred on them the principal poſts in his army. A report was at the ſame time ſpread, that he intended to diſband his Macedonian guards, and to ſupply their place by a body of Perſians. The guards who were threatened with this mark of diſgrace flocked around the royal tent, and offered to give up the authors of the revolt. As they found that they received no anſwer, they threw their arms on the ground, and proteſted that they would not retire until they had obtained pardon. Alexander at length came forth from his tent, and ſeeing their repentance could not refrain

from tears. The ſoldiers were ſo much affected that they could not ſpeak; but, after a few moments of ſilence, Callines, an officer of diſtinction, addreſſed him as follows: "O king, your Mace- "donians are filled with the utmoſt grief; be- "cauſe, excluding us from your favour, you have "treated the Perſians as your relations, and have "permitted them to kiſs your hand." The king replied: "You are all my relations; and I am re- "ſolved that as ſuch you ſhall in future be my "guards." He then preſented his hand to the Macedonians to be kiſſed; and afterwards gave a ſolemn feaſt, at which eight thouſand perſons were preſent. He cauſed the Macedonians to ſit next to his own perſon, then the Perſians, and after theſe the ſoldiers of other nations. This numerous aſſembly drank, from one golden cup, to the proſperity and union of all the ſtates over which Alexander was ſovereign.

Under theſe favourable auſpices, and with the hope of a reign rendered happy by general concord, Alexander arrived at Babylon, where he formed three vaſt projects. The firſt was, to drain the marſhes which ſurrounded that city; the ſecond, to render the Euphrates and the Tigris navigable, and to conſtruct a baſon capable of containing a thouſand galleys; and the third, to invade Arabia. While occupied with theſe projects, he ſuperintended himſelf the engineers whom he had invited to undertake the draining of the

marſhes; a voyage which he made on the river Euphrates procured him the neceſſary knowledge reſpecting the navigation which he wiſhed to eſtabliſh; and he received from the provinces freſh recruits, or rather troops already formed, of whom he compoſed the army deſtined againſt Arabia. While every thing proceeded in the moſt proſperous train, he was attacked by a diſorder, which had every ſymptom of a violent fever. He, however, ſtruggled againſt the malady, ſtill continuing to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, and to indulge with his friends in the joys of the bottle; and theſe uſed at an improper time were no doubt the real poiſon which ſhortened his days, though others have been ſuſpected, but without any proof. When the ſoldiers, accuſtomed to his preſence, no longer ſaw him in public, they were filled with the utmoſt grief. It was an affecting ſpectacle to behold theſe veterans approaching, with timidity and reſpect, the bed, where the monarch, after acquiring ſuch great glory at an early period of life, was lying in the laſt pangs of death. Though already ſurrounded by its diſmal veil, the voice and aſpect of his companions in arms ſeemed for a moment to revive him. He raiſed himſelf on his elbow, ſtretched out his trembling-hand, which they kiſſed with every ſentiment of grief, and expired almoſt in their arms, at the age of thirty-two. The preparations for his funeral continued two years. He ordered his body, it is ſaid, to be in-

terred in the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but Ptolemy Lagus, then maſter of Egypt, through which it was neceſſary that the funeral convoy ſhould paſs, prevented it from proceeding thither, and cauſed a magnificent tomb to be erected for the remains of the monarch in the city of Alexandria, which he had founded.

However extraordinary the actions of Alexander may have been, there were ſome authors who thought proper to magnify them even in his lifetime. So much are flattery and exaggeration natural to man! On hearing ſome accounts written by one of theſe authors, which were read to him, he turned to Lyſimachus, one of his generals, who had always attended him, and ſaid: "Where "was I then when I performed ſuch great ex-"ploits? I could wiſh," added he, "to return "after my death, to hear what poſterity will ſay "of theſe tales." That poſterity, whoſe opinion he was ſo deſirous of knowing, contenting itſelf with what is true or probable, has confirmed his reputation, by every-where holding him up as one of the moſt aſtoniſhing men that ever exiſted, and making his name a title of praiſe for warriors.

Inter-regnum, 2676. It is not known in what manner Alexander diſpoſed of his ſtates at his death; nor whether he made any regulations on that ſubject. At any rate he ſeems to have doubted that his wiſhes would be reſpected, ſince he ſaid: "My funeral will be at-"tended with blood." By Barſina he had a ſon

named Hercules, who lived only a ſhort time. The beautiful Roxana was delivered of another poſthumous ſon, who was named Alexander. He had ſtill alive a brother, named Aridæus, born by the dancer Philine; and another called Ptolemy, who never aſſumed that title, but who was really his brother, ſince his mother Arſinoe, one of Philip's miſtreſſes, was pregnant when Philip gave her in marriage to Lagus. Alexander had likewiſe a brother named Caraunus, ſon of Cleopatra, the rival of Olympias; and a ſiſter named Thexa, who afterwards married Caſſander. This genealogy is neceſſary for underſtanding what follows.

Alexander's ſucceſſors.

Alexander, when he died, gave his ring to Perdiccas, one of his moſt intimate and confidential friends. This favour might have been conſidered as a right to the crown; but Perdiccas had the modeſty, or rather the policy, to make it merely a right of giving protection to the royal family, which was conſidered as conſiſting only of Aridæus, until it ſhould be known what child Roxana would bring into the world. Except a little confuſion, which muſt always take place on any ſudden event of the like kind, a ſufficient degree of concord prevailed among the generals. They divided the provinces among themſelves, as governors, under the inſpection of Perdiccas, who preſided over the partition, as protector; but this title was merely illuſory. Perdiccas, full of ambition, confined Aridæus, while he appeared to

defend him. This prince, weak both in body and mind, had been adviſed to ſolicit the ſupport of Meleager, who commanded the Macedonian phalanx. Perdiccas, jealous of every authority which he could not control, cauſed Meleager to be aſſaſſinated at the foot of the altar, where he had taken ſhelter. This was the firſt crime he committed. The ſecond was the murder of Statira and Drypetis, the two laſt wives of Alexander, whom he cauſed to be diſpatched at the ſolicitation of Roxana, who was afraid they might be pregnant. The third was the maſſacre of a body of Greek mercenaries, conſiſting of twenty thouſand infantry and three thouſand cavalry, who believing themſelves freed from ſervice by the death of Alexander were returning peaceably to their country. The fourth, the aſſaſſination of Cynane, the ſiſter of Alexander, who had come to propoſe the marriage of her daughter Ada or Eurydice with Aridæus. Notwithſtanding the death of the mother, the marriage took place. Perdiccas had nearly committed a fifth crime by putting to death Antigonus, by whoſe merit he was obſcured; but the latter had time to ſave himſelf, and fled to Antipater in Macedonia. None of thoſe eſteemed by Alexander, except Eumenes, his ſecretary, a man of great merit, who was as expert in the field as able in the cabinet, remained with Perdiccas; and he even attached himſelf to the protector only becauſe he believed him to be

ſincerely devoted to the royal family. To ſecure the friendſhip of Eumenes ſtill more, Perdiccas went himſelf at the head of an army to put him in poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, which he gave him under the name of a government, after having put to death Ariarthes the king.

Perdiccas iſſued all his orders and diſtributed kingdoms under the name of Aridæus and the young Alexander of whom Roxana had been delivered; but every body knew that this was only a feint, in order that he might attain with more certainty to the empire. As his plans did not remain a ſecret, they cauſed all thoſe who dreaded his ambition to unite againſt him. On the other hand, Perdiccas reſolved, that he might prevent all ſurprize, to ſtrike the firſt blow, which he directed againſt Ptolemy, the moſt powerful of his rivals, who had been appointed governor of Egypt by Alexander himſelf; being perſuaded that if he pulled him down, the reſt would fall of themſelves. This prince, by his wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice, maintained Egypt in a ſtate of profound peace. He had fortified himſelf in that country, ſo that Perdiccas when he came to attack him found him in a formidable ſtate of defenſe. There was this difference between the two generals, that Ptolemy, being of a mild, inſinuating diſpoſition, was beloved by his ſoldiers; while Perdiccas had alienated the affection of his troops by unbecoming haughtineſs. A bloody battle took place in Egypt, Ptolemy, 2678.

on the banks of the Nile, in which the Macedonian phalanx experienced great loſs. As the ſoldiers aſcribed their misfortune to the bad diſpoſition of Perdiccas, they hurried to his tent, and diſpatched him.

Perdiccas was ſucceeded by two tutors, or protectors; but they were thwarted in their views by Eurydice, the wife of Aridæus. It appears that ſhe wiſhed to free her huſband from the ſhackles of guardianſhip, and as ſhe began to gain influence among the troops, the tutors oppoſed to him Antipater, who aſſumed alone the authority of protector. Antipater made a new partition of the provinces. Ptolemy was continued in the poſſeſſion of Egypt; Seleucus had the government of Babylon; Antipater, Suſiana; Caſſander, Caria; and Antigonus, Phrygia, with the command of the king's houſehold troops. Theſe are the principal generals who eſtabliſhed thrones on the ruins of that of Alexander.

Eumenes. Antigonus was the firſt who ſhewed by his conduct that he would not long remain a ſubject. He collected around him, by his liberality, the beſt of Alexander's ſoldiers, and compoſed an army entirely devoted to his ſervice. Polyperchon having ſucceeded Antipater, who was now dead, in the office of protector, formed a kind of cruſade of all the governors and commanders, whom he invited to defend the royal family againſt Antigonus; and he placed at the head of his army

Eumenes, whoſe attachment to that family was well known. Polypherchon to the title of general, conferred on Eumenes, wiſhed to add riches, honours, and dignities; but the latter replied: "The "man who is deſirous of remaining faithful to "his ſovereign has no need of great wealth, or "titles of diſtinction."

Two campaigns, in which theſe two great generals diſplayed their talents, and every reſource of the military art, were terminated by a deciſive battle. Antigonus could depend upon his army, but that of Eumenes, conſiſting in a great meaſure of ſoldiers whoſe chiefs had united merely through a point of honour, had no great attachment to his cauſe. All did juſtice to the merit and talents of Eumenes; and for that reaſon they thought him neceſſary in the moment of battle; but as he excited their jealouſy they reſolved to get rid of him when the affair was decided, whatever ſhould be the event, in order that they might at their pleaſure put an end to the war, of which they conſidered him to be the inſtigator and principal ſupport. As Eumenes was aware of this horrid plot he might have ſaved himſelf by retiring into Cappadocia; but he reflected that to renounce the command would be abandoning the family of Alexander, and on that account he determined to periſh rather with glory.

When he had formed this reſolution he went forth from his tent, and exhorted the ſoldiers to

perform their duty. The greater part of them, being unacquainted with the treachery of their chiefs, replied by the loudeſt acclamations of joy. Eumenes ſeemed affected by theſe teſtimonies of attachment; but he could not help ſaying to his friends around him, that he lived among ferocious animals by whom he would one day be devoured. The battle was not deciſive; but it gave riſe to an event which was more fatal to Eumenes than a defeat. During the combat, Antigonus detached a part of his cavalry by a circuitous way, ſurprized the enemies camp, and carried off the women and children, with a conſiderable booty. The chief part of the loſs fell upon the Argyraſpides, ſome of Alexander's ſoldiers who were diſtinguiſhed by this name, becauſe he had given them bucklers of ſilver. When theſe ſoldiers found themſelves deprived of what they moſt eſteemed, and of all the fruits of their labour, they were thrown into a violent rage, and attempted to maſſacre their generals. Tentamenes, their commander, ſuſpended their fury by repreſenting to them, that, in conſequence of the ancient connection which ſubſiſted between him and Antigonus, he hoped he ſhould be able to induce him to reſtore the booty. A deputation was accordingly ſent to him, and he replied that he would readily reſtore it provided they would deliver up Eumenes.

Eumenes, being a good ſpeaker, harangued the ſoldiers; and having repreſented to them the in-

juſtice of their conduct, the fatal conſequences it would occaſion, and the infamy they were about to bring upon themſelves, added: "Put me to "death rather than deliver me into the hands of "Antigonus, my old enemy as well as yours." This ſpeech had juſt begun to produce ſome effect on their minds, when the Argyraſpides cried out: "Let us have done with theſe fine ſpeeches, un- "leſs we are willing to loſe our wives and child- "ren;" and they immediately conducted him to the camp of the enemy. Thoſe to whom he was delivered having aſked in what manner he wiſhed to be treated, he replied: "As an ele- "phant or a lion." Two opinions prevailed in the council of Antigonus reſpecting the fate of this illuſtrious captive. Demetrius, the ſon of Anti- gonus, ſupported by the young men of the army, wiſhed that his life might be ſaved, provided he would promiſe not to act any longer for the royal family. On the other hand, his father's friends, and the politicians, were ſtrongly inclined to think that they ought to get rid of a man who was the only perſon perhaps capable of croſſing the deſigns of Antigonus. While the matter was under diſ- cuſſion, the latter cauſed his priſoner to be treated with every poſſible mark of reſpect. He allowed him to be attended by his own domeſtics, and to be viſited by his friends. Eumenes, however, be- came uneaſy on account of the uncertainty in which he was left reſpecting his fate. "I am

" aſtoniſhed," ſaid he, " that Antigonus ſhould " ſuffer me to remain ſo long in confinement; and " that he has not the courage either to put me to " death as his enemy, or to compel me to be- " come his friend by reſtoring me to liberty." He was ſoon freed from this uncertainty. That reſolution which was the leaſt generous being adopted, he was executed in priſon; but his funeral was celebrated in a magnificent manner by Antigonus and his whole army. His aſhes were incloſed in a ſilver urn, which was ſent to his wife and children in Cappadocia: a ſplendid teſtimony of eſteem and reſpect to the memory of a man who fell a victim to the attachment which he ſhewed to the family of his benefactor.

Antigonus was a gloomy politician, who coolly calculated in his cloſet the advantages which were likely to ariſe from a murder committed at a favourable moment. Cunning, diſſimulation, and inſincerity, coſt him nothing, provided he could circumvent thoſe whom he wiſhed to get rid of; and he deferred the execution of his plans till the moſt favourable opportunity. In one of his armies ſtationed at a diſtance on the frontiers was a man named Pithon, whom he ſuſpected of a deſign to render himſelf independent. A great many more entertained the ſame opinion, and openly ſpoke of it at court. Antigonus, however, ſeemed to take up his cauſe with warmth, and forbade any one to ſpeak ill of a man whom he eſteemed;

adding, that inſtead of giving credit to theſe calumnies, he had deſtined for him the command in Upper Aſia, the moſt beautiful of his governments. When Pithon was informed of this diſpoſition, he readily obeyed the king's order, recalling him to court; but he had ſcarcely arrived when Antigonus cauſed him to be accuſed of high treaſon in a council of war. In one day he was tried, condemned, and executed. The following is another inſtance of his cruelty. Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander, having determined to beſtow her hand on Ptolemy, had ſet out to meet him; but Antigonus fearing that this marriage would convey ſome rights to the governor of Egypt, cauſed her to be arreſted at Sardis, and gave orders for her being put to death. The crime was committed by the ladies who attended on this princeſs. Antigonus afterwards declared that it was perpetrated without his knowledge; cauſed the women who had been the inſtruments of his barbarity to be beheaded, and celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with the utmoſt magnificence.

There was a very ſtriking contraſt between Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius. The latter, humane and merciful, was of a candid and open diſpoſition, and well known to be ſo incapable of perfidy or treachery, that his father, notwithſtanding his gloomy temper, lived with him in the moſt intimate confidence, and prided himſelf in doing ſo. Demetrius had free acceſs to his father at all

times, and even with his arms, which at that period was rarely ſuffered. Antigonus made ſome ambaſſadors, to whom he was giving audience, take notice of this circumſtance, and ſaid: "You will "be careful to tell your maſters in what manner "I and my ſon live." Theſe ambaſſadors were thoſe of Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, with whom Antigonus ſhared almoſt the whole of the empire of Alexander. He had reſerved to himſelf Aſia; Ptolemy retained Egypt; Macedonia was aſſigned to Caſſander; and Thrace to Lyſimachus: and the Grecian cities were allowed to preſerve their liberty. This arrangement, according to the ſtrict ſpirit of their treaty, was only proviſional; as theſe generals acknowledged themſelves to be merely depoſitories of the power aſſigned to each until the family of Alexander ſhould be in a ſtate to maintain their rights: but this ſhadow of deference ſoon vaniſhed; and each aſſumed the title of king in the diſtricts which had been committed to his care.

Antigonus and Demetrius, 2698.

Antigonus, after he declared himſelf king, treated the people much better than he had done before; and the reaſon he aſſigned for his conduct was, that he wiſhed to preſerve with good-will what he had acquired by force. But in regard to taxes he was far from being ſo moderate as Alexander. To ſome remonſtrances which were made on this ſubject he replied: "Alexander collected "the harveſt of Aſia; as for me I only glean."

The following circumſtance will ſhow that he was fond of juſtice. Having to decide a cauſe in which his brother was concerned, the latter requeſted him to hear the caſe in private, that he might not be expoſed, perhaps, to the ſhame of a condemnation. "Brother," ſaid the monarch with firmneſs, "I will hear you in public; becauſe I ought "to adminiſter juſtice without any diſtinction of "perſons." He lived peaceably in the boſom of his family, and was beloved by his wife and children, for whom he entertained the tendereſt affection. To the apothegms, or memorable ſayings, of Antigonus may be added the following: During a journey, his ſon having been quartered at the houſe of a widow who had three daughters of uncommon beauty, he ſent for the quartermaſter, and ſaid to him—"Friend, have the good-"neſs, I beg of you, to extricate my ſon from his "dangerous ſituation."

The new kings, eſtabliſhed either in the hereditary ſtates of Alexander or the conquered countries, were ſoon involved in war with each other. The uncertainty of their rights and limits afforded ſufficient motives for hoſtilities; but Antigonus was particularly excited againſt Ptolemy by a ſpirit of revenge, becauſe he had afforded an aſylum and protection to Seleucus. The latter, though only governor of Babylon, having inſpired Antigonus with fear, he wiſhed to get him arreſted; but Seleucus ſaved himſelf by flying to Egypt. The

ſoothſayers foretold to Antigonus that the fugitive would become a dangerous enemy to him; and the prophefy was indeed accompliſhed through the fault, perhaps, of Antigonus; for Seleucus, incenſed by the obſtinacy with which Antigonus perſecuted him, was of great ſervice to Ptolemy in aſſiſting him to repel Antigonus, and afterwards formed a league of all the princes and ſatraps whoſe ſtates were threatened by the ambition of that monarch.

Battle of Ipſus, 298. Lyſimachus and Seleucus on the one ſide, and Antigonus with his ſon Demetrius on the other, each at the head of a powerful army, met near Ipſus in the plains of Phrygia. The fate of Aſia depended on the battle which was about to take place. It was exceedingly bloody, as might be expected where the chiefs poſſeſſed equal talents, while the troops were equally well trained to war. Victory, however, declared for Seleucus, and Antigonus, wounded in ſeveral places, died in the field of battle, at the age of eighty-four. Demetrius fled with a few attendants, and eſcaped to Greece; but he was exceedingly unfortunate, as he experienced marks of humiliation from the republic of Athens, which had been laviſh of its flattery to him while he enjoyed proſperity.

Seleucus by one blow was thus rendered maſter of all Aſia; and Demetrius found himſelf reduced to Cilicia, his only aſylum; and that even he obtained by ſurprize. While he was wandering about

on the coaſts of Greece, maintaining his ſmall army on plunder, Seleucus, who had ſtripped him of his dominions, demanded in marriage his daughter Stratonice, a princeſs of great beauty; and he procured for him, at the ſame time, Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy. Being brother-in-law of the king of Aſia, and ſon-in-law of that of Egypt, it might be believed that Demetrius would have acquired ſome crown by his alliances; but being involved in a quarrel with Seleucus on account of certain pretenſions, and as Ptolemy beheld him with indifference, his army ſtill became his reſource.

Two competitors being at this time engaged in a diſpute reſpecting Macedonia, Demetrius was invited by Alexander, the ſon of Caſſander, who was one of them, to come to his aſſiſtance. While Demetrius was on his march, the two rivals ſettled the conteſt by an accommodation; and Alexander becoming afraid of Demetrius went to meet him, in order to prevent him from entering his territories. It was, however, too late: Demetrius advanced; and as Alexander did not know in what other manner he could get rid of him, he determined to employ aſſaſſination. He accordingly gave orders for this purpoſe; but Demetrius diſcovering the plan, fell upon Alexander's guards with the choice of his troops, and killed the prince in the middle of them. "We have anticipated "you by one day," cried the Macedonians. Alex-

ander's army now waited in expectation of being attacked by Demetrius; but it was agreeably surprized when Demetrius requested leave to vindicate his conduct in regard to the death of the king. He pleaded his cause so well, that the soldiers with one voice proclaimed him sovereign of Macedonia.

Demetrius being again raised to a throne, began to think of recovering that of Asia, from which he had been expelled. He is entitled to the honour of having caused to be constructed ships of a size, strength, and magnificence, before unknown. His preparations gave notice to those whom he wished to attack to anticipate his designs. They excited enemies against him on all sides; parties were even formed in his own dominions; and the Macedonians deprived him of the crown with the same levity as they had conferred it. He, however, had an army, which indeed was not numerous, but composed of good soldiers. With this aid he thought he could penetrate into Asia, which was still the object of his hopes. In his different engagements he had some success; but being hemmed in by numerous armies, he requested they would leave him an open passage, by which he might go and establish himself among some barbarous nation, where he could terminate his days in peace. He addressed himself, in particular, to his son-in-law Seleucus, who had some compassion on his wretched condition, and supplied his soldiers with provisions, of which they were in want. Se-

leucus would even have done more had it not been for his prime-miniſter Patroclus, who repreſented to him how much riſk he ran in aſſiſting the moſt ambitious and moſt enterprizing prince that ever exiſted; and he added, that he was a lion, of whom they never could be ſure till they had him in chains.

Seleucus, perſuaded by this reaſoning, reinforced his army, ſurrounded Demetrius, and pent him up in the defiles of mount Taurus. Demetrius, reduced to a ſtate of deſpair, made a laſt effort, and opened a paſſage for himſelf into Syria; but being ſeized with a violent fever he was obliged to ſtop. During his illneſs his ſoldiers, abandoned by hope, deſerted in great numbers. When he began to recover, as he found himſelf hard preſſed by Seleucus, he ſtole a march, and left the army of his ſon-in-law a great way behind him. He then formed a deſign of ſurprizing the enemy's camp; and his plan would have ſucceeded had he not been betrayed by a deſerter. Demetrius had then no other courſe than to hazard a deſperate manœuvre, which he accordingly did; and falling on the advanced guard of the enemy routed them by the firſt ſhock. Seleucus ran forwards, and ſhewed himſelf to thoſe victorious ſoldiers, at the head of a numerous army ready to engage. He informed them, that he had delayed ſo long to attack them merely to prevent the uſeleſs effuſion of blood; and he exhorted them to lay down their arms,

and not to expoſe themſelves any longer for a prince blinded by ambition, and incapable of making farther reſiſtance. The ſoldiers applauded this ſpeech, replied to it by repeated acclamations of long live king Seleucus, and abandoned the unfortunate Demetrius.

The latter retired to a thick foreſt with a few faithful adherents, and during the night Soſigenes, one of his old friends, brought him a ſmall ſum of money. Aſſiſted by this feeble aid, he endeavoured to ſave himſelf, with a view of proceeding to the ſea coaſt; but all the paſſages were too well guarded. His ſmall eſcort finding no farther reſource immediately diſperſed; a few of them, however, remained, but only to deliver him up to Seleucus. Demetrius having diſcovered their deſign, ſent deputies to his ſon-in-law, whom they found in the beſt diſpoſition poſſible.—"Fortune," ſaid he, "is leſs attentive to the ſafety of Demetrius than to the intereſts of my glory; ſince no victory could be more glorious than the act of clemency which it furniſhes me with an opportunity of performing."

Seleucus, faithful to theſe principles, ſent to meet Demetrius ſome perſons whom he thought would be moſt agreeable to him; and this train were joined by a multitude of courtiers, under the perſuaſion, that the genius of the father-in-law was about to aſſume a complete aſcendency over the mind of his ſon-in-law. The miniſters entertained

the ſame idea; and particularly Patroclus, who endeavoured to revive that fear and ſuſpicion which had been baniſhed by the firſt tranſports of generoſity. Demetrius, in the midſt of congratulations, found himſelf ſurrounded by a numerous guard, who conducted him, not before the king as he had flattered himſelf, but to a fortreſs ſituated in a peninſula, where he was cloſely confined. He was, however, indulged with every thing that could contribute to convenience or enjoyment. He was allowed to amuſe himſelf with the pleaſures of the chaſe in a very extenſive park; and in every other reſpect his deſires were fully gratified, or even anticipated. He was alſo flattered with the hope that he would be reſtored to liberty as ſoon as his daughter Stratonice, and ſome other relations, ſhould arrive to ſettle the conditions.

He indulged this hope for ſome time, but finding that he was put off day after day, and that he even could not obtain an interview with Seleucus, though he repeatedly requeſted it, he abandoned himſelf to the pleaſures preſented to him, and particularly good cheer, which he thought the beſt method of baniſhing regret for the loſs of his paſt grandeur. It was therefore believed that he had reſigned himſelf to his fate, and perhaps he entertained the ſame idea himſelf. A letter of his to his ſon Antigonus, which is a kind of renunciation of every thing that could attach him to life, is

ſtill preſerved. In that letter he reſigns in his favour all right to his ſtates in Greece; exhorts him to take particular care of them, and to obſerve conſtantly towards his ſubjects the laws of juſtice and moderation. "Conſider me," adds he, "as dead; do not think of purchaſing my liberty "by ſacrificing cities or provinces; and give no "credit in that reſpect to any letter, even though "written by my hand, and ſealed with my ſeal."

Demetrius found that pleaſure deſtitute of hope is but a feeble reſource againſt misfortune. While immerſed in the deepeſt ſadneſs, all his attempts to emerge from it were fruitleſs; and the efforts he made for this purpoſe brought on a diſeaſe, which carried him to the grave at the age of fifty-four. Demetrius ſhewed himſelf to be a great prince, either in proſperity or misfortune. He was the ableſt engineer of his time; gentle and agreeable in his manners; fond of letters; magnanimous in his conduct; generous and beneficent; and adored by his family. It muſt be obſerved, that he had four wives, who all lived with him at the ſame time; yet they neither gave to him nor to each other the leaſt cauſe of uneaſineſs.

His ſon Antigonus, a model of filial affection, as Demetrius had been himſelf, offered to become a hoſtage for his father, and propoſed as the price of his deliverance to reſign all the ſtates which he poſſeſſed in Greece. Though this offer was re-

fuſed, he perſiſted to requeſt that he might be ſet at liberty, aſſumed the dreſs of mourning, and aſſiſted at no feſtivals during the time that his father was detained a priſoner. When he heard of his death, and that his aſhes were on the road to be conveyed to him, he ſet out to meet them, accompanied with a numerous fleet, and cauſed them to be incloſed in a golden urn. On entering the port of Corinth, where he reſided, he ordered this urn to be placed on the ſtern of his veſſel, covered with a purple canopy, having above it a crown of gold; while he himſelf, clothed in a mourning habit, continued near the precious remains with his eyes bathed in tears. Almoſt all the cities of Greece ſent garlands to ornament it, and deputies to aſſiſt at the funeral. From Corinth the aſhes of Demetrius were tranſported to Demetriades, which he had built, and depoſited in a magnificent tomb. It is rare to ſee ſuch deep regret on the part of an heir apparent to a throne.

Macedonia.

The deplorable diſaſters which aroſe from the conqueſts of Alexander in Aſia prepare us for ſcenes ſtill more bloody in Macedonia. That prince had left the government of it to Antipater, a miniſter who had been highly eſteemed by his father Philip. He was of an illuſtrious family, and a particular friend of Ariſtotle, who inſpired him with an ardent taſte for the ſciences. All his actions were accompanied with a certain air of grandeur. In the common occurrences of life, as

well as in his dreſs, he diſplayed the greateſt ſimplicity, and ſeemed to be only a plain individual, even when he communicated his orders to kings. In a word, it may be ſaid, that he was either the greateſt man or the greateſt hypocrite of his time.

2676. The government entruſted to him by Alexander was more embarraſſing than that of any other, owing to the difficulty of living with Olympias in ſuch a manner as to prevent her from aſſuming too much authority, without giving the ſon cauſe to blame the reſtraint impoſed on his mother. The part he had to act was delicate; but it appears that Antipater diſcharged his duty for a long time to the ſatisfaction of Alexander. It is believed, however, that at the period when the manners of this conqueror were changed Antipater's inflexible love for truth began to diſpleaſe him; and that at the time of his death he intended to have made him experience ſome ſtriking mark of diſgrace: though it may be ſaid, that Alexander was indebted to him for his conqueſts; becauſe if the governor had not maintained peace in Macedonia the king could not have received thoſe recruits ſent to him by Antipater, which kept up the force of his army, and would have been forced to quit Aſia, that he might not riſk his hereditary crown for mere hopes.

The account of Alexander's death occaſioned great embarraſſment to Antipater. As a part of the Grecian cities expelled the Macedonian garri-

ſons, it was neceſſary to negociate with ſome of them, and to treat others with rigour. The Athenians, in particular, gave him great uneaſineſs. They obliged him, as he found himſelf blockaded, to ſue for peace; but they refuſed to liſten to any propoſals, unleſs he would ſurrender at diſcretion. Antipater, however, extricated himſelf from this diſagreeable ſituation; and, in his turn, inſiſted on the ſame conditions as thoſe which the Athenians had wiſhed to impoſe on him. They were forced to ſubmit; but he did not abuſe his victory, and contented himſelf with obliging them to baniſh thoſe dangerous orators who miſled the people, always volatile and changeable. This war has been called the war of Lamachus, becauſe the principal battle was fought near a city named Lamia.

Antipater, excited by a deſire of being uſeful to the family of Alexander, proceeded to Aſia, where he had the title of protector, which he brought back to Macedonia, and died there at the age of eighty. His delicacy did not allow him to give his government to his ſon Caſſander, who notwithſtanding his youth would have diſcharged the duties of it with propriety. He aſſigned it to Polyperchon, the oldeſt of Alexander's generals whom he had around him. This man, who ſucceeded Antipater in the quality of governor-general of Macedonia and tutor of the young princes, poſſeſſed only moderate talents. His ſon Alex-

ander was equally deſtitute of ability. They began their adminiſtration by a fault, committed in direct oppoſition to the advice left them by Antipater, to invite Olympias to Macedonia, from which Antipater had found means to get her removed. This artful woman rendered herſelf miſtreſs of the mind of Polyperchon, and adviſed him to introduce into the government of different cities changes, which excited diſcontent. He iſſued his orders with great haughtineſs in the name of Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, who had been acknowledged king with young Alexander, the ſon of Roxana.

Aridæus had married his own niece Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip; and whether it was that the right of this princeſs to the crown excited the hatred of Olympias, or that rivalſhip in authority, and that jealouſy, which is not uncommon among women, prevailed between them, they not only ſhewed a mutual coolneſs, but even hatred, and a deſire of injuring each other. Olympias was ſupported by Polyperchon, while Eurydice ſought ſupport in Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, who could not ſee without uneaſineſs the attachment of Polyperchon to Olympias, the declared enemy of his father. He communicated his fears to his friends, and formed a powerful party. His firſt efforts to ſupplant the governor were not attended with ſucceſs. He was obliged to fly to Aſia; but inſtead of renouncing his deſign, he

raiſed an army in that country by the aſſiſtance of thoſe princes who were jealous of Polyperchon's authority, and was ready to enter Macedonia of his own accord when he was called in by Eurydice to her relief.

A civil war was now begun in Macedonia. The two heroines, each at the head of an army, ſhewed themſelves determined to hazard the event of a battle. That communication which is natural between the inhabitants of the ſame country, though of oppoſite parties, was favourable to Olympias. Eurydice's ſoldiers had voluntarily entered into her ſervice, and with every mark of zeal and affection; but Olympias having preſented herſelf before them at the moment when the action began, her majeſtic air, and the idea that they were going to combat againſt the widow of Philip, the mother of Alexander, made them drop their arms. They abandoned the unfortunate Eurydice and her huſband. Olympias being miſtreſs of their fate cauſed them to be ſhut up in a place ſo confined that they were ſcarcely able to move; and ordered them to be fed with the coarſeſt nouriſhment. Along with this wretched couple a great many of Caſſander's partiſans, among whom was his brother Nicanor, having fallen into her hands, ſhe cauſed them all to be put to death, and a hundred of his friends to be maſſacred. She wiſhed, at the ſame time, that the tomb of Iolas, another brother of Caſſan-

der, might be opened, and that the remains of his body ſhould be thrown out into the highway.

As theſe cruelties began to excite ſome compaſſion in favour of Aridæus and his ſpouſe, Olympias, fearing the conſequences, reſolved to get rid of her priſoners. By her orders ſome Thracians, armed with poniards, entered the priſon where the king was confined, and diſpatched him with repeated blows. A moment after, ſhe ſent a meſſenger to offer Eurydice a dagger, a rope, or a cup of poiſon. "May the gods," ſaid the unfortunate princeſs, "give one day to Olympias a "preſent of the like kind." She then tore her handkerchief, wiped the wounds of her huſband, who had juſt emitted his laſt ſigh, covered up his body, and, without diſplaying the leaſt weakneſs, or ſuffering a ſingle complaint to eſcape from her, preſented her neck to the fatal cord, and was ſtrangled.

Caſſander. Death of Olympias.

Caſſander arrived too late to prevent theſe cruelties, but ſoon enough to puniſh them. When he entered Macedonia, Olympias was going from city to city, eſcorted by a magnificent court. She had taken with her Roxana and the little Alexander, under a firm perſuaſion that a ſight of the widow, the ſon, and the mother, of that conqueror, whoſe victories did ſo much honour to the Macedonian name, would induce the beſt ſoldiers to range themſelves under her ſtandards; but her army did

not increaſe. Being ſtill purſued by Caſſander, ſhe was at laſt compelled to ſhut herſelf up in Pydna, which Caſſander beſieged both by ſea and by land. The garriſon were reduced to ſuch a dreadful ſtate by famine, that the ſoldiers were obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their companions. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to eſcape, Olympias ſurrendered at diſcretion, and being accuſed before the aſſembly of Macedonia by the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had put to death in ſo cruel a manner, was condemned herſelf to capital puniſhment, without being allowed to ſpeak in her own defenſe. Caſſander then offered her a veſſel to tranſport her to Athens; but ſhe refuſed this offer, being afraid that in the courſe of the voyage ſhe might be thrown into the ſea. She expreſſed a deſire of juſtifying herſelf in a new aſſembly, but Caſſander thought it would be dangerous to grant her that permiſſion. Two hundred men, indeed, whom he ſent to diſpatch her, were ſo diſconcerted by her majeſtic air, that they returned without executing their order. The ſame cauſe, therefore, muſt have produced a much greater effect on a multitude, among whom there are always ſome individuals inclined to mercy. No other means could be deviſed for getting rid of her than to deliver her up to the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had cauſed to be put to death. Such was the end of the mother of Alexander. It would be uſeleſs to trace out her character; it is ſuffici-

ently diſplayed in her actions. Caſſander ſent Roxana and her ſon to Amphipolis; but he removed from them thoſe by whom they had been uſually attended, and ordered that the young prince ſhould be educated as a plain individual. From Amphipolis they were transferred to a ſolitary caſtle; and when he had accuſtomed the Macedonians to forget them, he cauſed them to be put to death, laid aſide the name of protector, which he had hitherto retained, and aſſumed the title of king.

2698. If thoſe military talents which enſure victory added to a wiſe and moderate government can juſtify uſurpation, Caſſander deſerved the throne. He brought back to Macedonia peace and abundance; rebuilt the cities which had been deſtroyed; united to his crown that of Epirus; maintained with honour and advantage the war againſt Antigonus, who was maſter of Aſia; impoſed laws on the Ætolians and the Illyrians; ſubdued Peloponeſus; and died of diſeaſe in the midſt of his triumphs. He left three ſons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander, the firſt of whom ſucceeded him, but died ſoon after. Antipater then cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king; but Alexander oppoſed his inſtallation, being ſupported by a powerful party, and the conſent of the queen his mother, or at leaſt they made Antipater believe ſo. This unnatural prince, fearing the preponderance of ſuch influence, entered his mother's houſe with aſſaſſins

on purpoſe to deſtroy her. In vain did ſhe beg for mercy, and conjured her ſon by the breaſts which ſuckled him; he remained inflexible, and commanded her to be maſſacred before his eyes: an inſtance of the moſt horrid barbarity, almoſt unexampled in hiſtory.

After a war of ſeveral years, in which foreigners took a part, and which was attended with fatal conſequences to the kingdom, it was partitioned between two brothers. Alexander, the eldeſt, was ſupplanted by Demetrius, whom he attempted to deſtroy. It appears that Demetrius did not pay ſufficient attention to the character of his new ſubjects; as he ſhewed on the throne of Macedonia a luxury, which might have given ſatisfaction in Aſia, or have been tolerated in Greece, where the arts were honoured, but which formed too great a contraſt with the rural ſimplicity of the Macedonians. He behaved in this kingdom as if in a conquered country: iſſued his commands with haughtineſs, and rejected the remonſtances and complaints of the people with an air of contempt ſtill more diſguſting than a refuſal. His ſubjects, at length, becoming tired of their oppreſſion, expelled him from the country, and gave the crown to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Thus Macedonia, to which Epirus had been annexed under Caſſander, was itſelf annexed to Epirus under Pyrrhus. The latter quitted it in order to make conqueſts in Italy; but before he departed

Demetrius. Pyrrhus. 2705.

he divided it with Lyſimachus, the ſovereign of Thrace, who during his abſence made himſelf maſter of the whole.

Lyſimachus. Ceraunus. 2714.

By female intrigues the court of this prince was filled with fatal diſſenſions. Arſinoe, whom he eſpouſed in his old age, inſpired him with the moſt odious ſuſpicions of Agathocles, his eldeſt ſon, a prince univerſally beloved and eſteemed. He was confined in priſon without being heard, and afterwards poiſoned. Lyſandra, his widow, the daughter of Ptolemy, eſcaped with her children and her brother Ceraunus to the court of Seleucus. This prince took up arms in favour of the unfortunate family, and fought a battle at Lyſimachia, in which the king of Macedonia periſhed with thirteen of his ſons. The conqueror, when about to place Ceraunus on the throne, was aſſaſſinated by him; and the latter, notwithſtanding the atrocity of his crime, had the addreſs to get himſelf proclaimed king by the Macedonians. He then began to think of being revenged on Arſinoe, the murderer of his brother-in-law Agathocles. As the princeſs had retired to Caſſandria, a place of great ſtrength, Ceraunus deceived her by the hopes of eſpouſing her, and adopting her children. She opened the gates of Caſſandria; and on the day appointed for the marriage, Ceraunus cauſed her two ſons to be maſſacred in her preſence, and baniſhed the mother to Samothrace, with only two women to attend her. Having,

however, escaped to Egypt, she gained the affection of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the brother of Ptolemy Ceraunus, who married her; and she thus became the sister-in-law of him whose brother-in-law she had put to death, and who had assassinated her children. What alliances!

Invasion of the Gauls.

Under Ptolemy Ceraunus the Gauls, a nation hitherto unknown in these countries, made an irruption into Macedonia. Nothing but the hope of plunder, or a desire of procuring a more advantageous habitation, could have induced these barbarous hordes to quit their forests. They began therefore by pillaging, and afterwards settled, if the place suited their convenience. In either case the invaded country was in an unfortunate situation. Ceraunus, at the head of a powerful army, waited for them on the frontiers; but he was defeated and killed. They then dispersed themselves throughout the whole kingdom like an inundation, and exercised their robbery with the more ease, as the Macedonians were without a chief. During their first moment of surprize they had elected Meleager, the brother of Ceraunus; but as he appeared to be destitute of ability, they deposed him two months after. Antipater, the grand-son of Cassander, who was next chosen, reigned only forty-five days. Sosthenes, a Macedonian lord, collected his scattered countrymen, formed them to discipline, and at their head defeated the barbarians in several engage-

Meleager. Antipater. Cassander.

ments. He was offered the crown, but declined accepting it; and contented himſelf with the title of general, which he retained with glory for two years. A new ſwarm of Gauls having arrived to reinforce the former, Soſthenes and his ſmall army were overpowered by numbers. Theſe two invaſions completed the ruin of Macedonia, which the Gauls abandoned in order to exerciſe their fury in Greece.

Antigonus. This kingdom, notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate to which it was then reduced, excited the ambitious views of three competitors: Antigonus Gonarus, ſo called from the place of his birth, the ſon of Demetrius; Antiochus Soter, the ſon of Seleucus; and Pyrrhus, who had returned from his expedition to Italy. The fathers of the two firſt had borne the crown of Macedonia. Aſſiſted by their own troops as well as by mercenaries, they diſputed for the remains of the deſolated kingdom. Pyrrhus, worthy, by his romantic ideas, of commanding the Gauls, of whom he had great numbers in his army, offered to decide the conteſt with Antigonus by ſingle combat; but the latter replied, that if Pyrrhus was tired of life he might find a thouſand other ways to get rid of it. He was, indeed, killed at Argos by the hand of a woman, who ſtruck him on the head with a tile. Antigonus, finding himſelf ſole maſter of Macedonia, gradually got rid of the remainder of the Gauls by whom it was ſtill infeſted, and began

a reign which, on account of its mildneſs and juſtice, ought to have given ſatisfaction to the Macedonians; but they ſuffered themſelves to be dazzled by the brilliant valour of Alexander, the ſon of Pyrrhus, who came to claim the rights of his father. The Macedonians, almoſt to a man, having eſpouſed his cauſe, Antigonus abandoned this ungrateful people, and retired to his ſtates in Greece. His ſon Demetrius, however, maintained his ground in a corner of the kingdom; and as his exploits attracted the notice of the Macedonians, ſtill captivated with bravery, they embraced his party. With this ſupport he vanquiſhed his opponents, and recalled his father Antigonus. The latter, the grand-ſon of Antigonus, killed at the battle of Ipſus, and the ſon of Demetrius, who died a priſoner, did not forget the viciſſitudes of fortune which he had ſo often experinced. When Pyrrhus was killed, the ſon of Antigonus, in the firſt tranſports of the joy inſpired by victory, preſented to him the head of the king of Epirus; but the Macedonian monarch turned aſide his eyes with horror, and ſaid: "Unhappy youth! do you imagine that a prince whoſe grand-father was killed in the ſame manner, and whoſe father died in confinement, can receive pleaſure from the ſpectacle which you preſent to me?" He received with much kindneſs the ſon of Pyrrhus, who was introduced to him by Demetrius. Obſerving that he had on a

mean dreſs, he ſaid to his ſon, who was recommending the young prince to his notice: "I am "more pleaſed with your conduct on the preſent "occaſion than with that which you obſerved "after the battle; but you have not yet done "enough, as the dreſs which covers him is fit "only to diſgrace your victory."

Demetrius II. 2756.

Demetrius II. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Antigonus, was ſo fortunate as to be in a ſituation which enabled him to imitate the mild virtues of his father, rather than his military talents. His reign was tranquil, but exceedingly ſhort. His death excited much regret, which would have been ſtill greater, but for the eminent qualities of Antigonus Doſon, his brother, who ſucceeded him; firſt as tutor to a very young ſon, named Philip, whom his brother had left, and afterwards as king, on his marrying the widow. The care which he beſtowed on the education of his nephew, and the affection he always ſhewed towards him, prove, that if he aſſumed the crown it was not to deprive him of it, but to render it more brilliant for him when he came of age. Macedonia proſpered under his government. He was an excellent warrior, and an able politician. Antigonus poſſeſſed the art of promiſing; as appears by his name *Doſon*, which ſignifies about to give. He died of a ſpitting of blood, occaſioned by an effort made when encouraging his ſoldiers in a battle. Before he breathed his laſt, he begged the army

Antigonus Doſon, 2762.

to preſerve conſtant fidelity to Philip, his nephew and ward, who was about to aſcend the throne at a very early age.

Philip, like his predeceſſor, was brave, eloquent, and well verſed in every branch of knowledge neceſſary for a king; but he was gloomy and cruel, two faults which embittered his life, and diſgraced his reign. Before he attained to the age of maturity, he attempted a diſcovery the moſt difficult perhaps of all, and eſpecially for a king:—to diſtinguiſh his real from his falſe friends. Incenſed at not being able to ſatisfy himſelf on this point, he removed the difficulty by putting to death, without diſcrimination, ſuch of his courtiers as he had lived with in a ſtate of familiar intimacy. We know alſo that he was guilty of the death of Aratus, that reſpectable chief of the Acheans, whom he cauſed to be poiſoned; and of having ordered a beverage to be given to the ſon of that prince by which he was rendered an idiot. Such was the father of Demetrius and Perſes, both celebrated; the former by his attachment, and the latter by his antipathy, to the Romans. Philip, 2778.

Theſe republicans had already carried their arms into Greece, where they put in practice that inſidious policy which rendered them at laſt maſters of the world. It conſiſted in giving aſſiſtance to the weak againſt the ſtrong. After they had pulled down the power of any king, by taking from him ſome of his ſtates, and a part of his

means of attack or defenſe, in order that they might ſtill farther weaken his forces, under the pretence of indemnification, they aſſigned to him ſome other country to be ſubdued. Thus, after having obliged Philip to deliver up to them his ſhips, and after interdicting him to continue conqueſts already begun, and nearly brought to a concluſion, they permitted him to attack the Thracians, whom they knew it would be difficult to conquer. One of their political arts was to demand as hoſtages the children of great men and ſovereigns; that they might educate them in their own principles, and inſpire them with admiration for the republic. This kind of addreſs was practiſed againſt Philip. The Romans demanded his ſon Demetrius as an hoſtage; and ſent him back filled with ſentiments of eſteem and of affection for them, which were little calculated to pleaſe the king of Macedonia, after the imperious manner in which they had treated him.

Demetrius had an elder brother, named Perſes, born by a concubine; but the illegality of his birth deprived him neither of the deſire of aſcending the throne, nor of the hopes of accompliſhing the object of his wiſhes. Demetrius, on every occaſion, endeavoured to ſoften the reſentment of his father againſt the Romans. He tried, above all, to move him through conſiderations of intereſt, by repreſenting to him that the power of the republicans was far ſuperior to his own; that he ran the riſk of

offending them; and that it would be much better to endeavour to ſecure their friendſhip by an open, manly conduct, than to attempt to deceive them by acts of duplicity, which they would not fail to diſcover. Philip was ſenſible of the juſtneſs of this reaſoning; but he did not hear it without pain; and this pain often induced him to believe that his ſon employed theſe arguments more through his attachment to the Romans, than with a view to his advantage. Perſes loſt no opportunity of ſtrengthening theſe ſuſpicions; and however much affection Philip might have for Demetrius, a prince of a cheerful, bland, inſinuating diſpoſition, and adorned with every virtue, there were ſome moments when identity of ſentiment gave the aſcendency to Perſes, who was gloomy, artful, and malicious.

A circumſtance occurred which afforded an opportunity for knowing the difference of theſe two characters. Philip being deſirous of amuſing his court with a kind of ſpectacle, ſomething ſimilar to a tournament, the two princes were placed at the head of two parties, each compoſed of their friends. The combat, however, which was intended to be feigned, ſoon became ſerious; and it required all the authority of the king to put an end to it. The two brothers having afterwards treated their champions, ſome belonging to the party of Perſes introduced themſelves into the hall where Demetrius was regaling his friends. The

gueſts conſidering them as ſpies, turned them out; but Demetrius being diſpleaſed with his courtiers, on account of this inſult offered to his brother, propoſed that they ſhould go and ſurprize him in an amicable manner at table, under an idea that this mark of confidence would appeaſe him. This was an act of imprudence, of which his friends endeavoured to make him ſenſible; and thoſe in particular who had turned out the ſpies, whether real or pretended, refuſed to expoſe themſelves to his brother's reſentment. Demetrius inſiſted they ſhould go; but he did not oppoſe the precaution they took of carrying poniards under their robes to defend themſelves, in caſe of an attack. Whether it was that Perſes was really afraid, or was ſuddenly ſtruck with an idea that this was a favourable opportunity for rendering his brother odious, when he ſaw the company approaching he cauſed the door to be ſhut, and called out murder. The king, to whom both parties referred the affair, blamed the imprudence of Demetrius, while he condemned the odious ſuſpicions entertained by Perſes; but in regard to the queſtion which of the parties had begun to convert the ſpectacle into a ſcene of carnage, he would give no deciſion. He contented himſelf with recommending union; and forbidding them, with an abſolute tone, ever to diſturb his tranquillity with the like diſputes.

But if he entertained any doubt reſpecting the party which deſerved blame, the arts that were

employed ſoon freed him from uncertainty, to his great misfortune. By one of thoſe acts of duplicity from which his ſon Demetrius begged him to abſtain, Philip incurred the diſpleaſure of the Romans. On a requeſt made by the inhabitants of Maronea, a maritime city of Thrace, the ſenate had ordered him to withdraw the Macedonian garriſon. After much evaſion Philip obeyed; but he purſued his meaſures in ſuch a manner that, at the very time when the garriſon quitted Maronea, it was entered by Thracians, poſted for that purpoſe, who ſacked and plundered it, and exerciſed againſt the inhabitants the moſt horrid cruelties. As this atrocious affair was ſoon known at Rome, Philip received orders to juſtify his conduct before the ſenate, and to ſend to Rome the commander of the garriſon, that the truth might be fully aſcertained. Philip ordered him to ſet out, and cauſed him to be poiſoned on the road. As he was unable to reſiſt the forces preparing to attack him, he commiſſioned Demetrius to endeavour to avert the ſtorm. When the young prince arrived at Rome, he was aſtoniſhed and much diſconcerted on finding that accumulated proofs had been produced againſt his father. He did every thing in his power to juſtify his conduct, and the ſenate were inclined to admit his vindication; but in the letter which the ſenate wrote to his father they expreſsly declared, that his reaſons had been conſidered as valid only through reſpect for the ſon.

This reſtriction diſpleaſed Philip. He thought it foreboded nothing favourable to his happineſs, as he imagined that his ſon had entered into ſome private treaty with the Romans to ſupport him in oppoſition to his father, and perhaps to deprive him of the throne. Perſes ſtrengthened theſe ſuſpicions by forged letters, which he cauſed to be ſent from Rome, and in which the pretended plans of Demetrius were unfolded with ſo much ſimplicity, that the king was deceived, and iſſued orders for arreſting his ſon. The perſon entruſted with this buſineſs was one Didas, a ſecret partiſan of Perſes, who executed his commiſſion with ſo much apparent regret, and behaved with ſo much reſpect to the young prince, that he began to place confidence in him. He confeſſed to him that, if he could obtain his liberty, he intended to eſcape to Rome, to avoid the effects of his brother's hatred. Didas related this to the king, who ordered him to diſpatch his priſoner by poiſon; but with as much caution as poſſible, leſt the Macedonians and the Romans, by whom he was equally beloved and eſteemed, ſhould ſuſpect his deſign. Didas mixed ſome poiſon with the prince's food; but finding that its effect was too ſlow, and that the violent pain by which Demetrius was agitated began to raiſe doubts, he cauſed him to be ſuffocated.

As ſoon as Demetrius had breathed his laſt, Perſes changed his conduct. He no longer behaved to his father with the ſame reſpect as

formerly, and ſhewed evident ſigns of his joy at the death of his rival. This conduct gave Philip great uneaſineſs, and he began to ſuſpect that he had been deceived. He endeavoured, therefore, to ſatisfy himſelf on this point; and for that purpoſe applied to one of his relations, named Antigonus, a man of approved probity. Antigonus told the king frankly that he believed Demetrius to have been innocent, and pointed out to him the means by which he might ſtill farther aſcertain the truth. The perſon who had forged the letters acknowledged his crime; and his confeſſion, ſupported by other proofs, threw the king into a ſtate of the utmoſt deſpair. Such of the guilty as could be ſeized were condemned to death; but Perſes made his eſcape, and fixed his reſidence on the frontiers, where he entertained hopes of ſeeing the moment ſoon arrive which would render him maſter of the crown. He was not kept long in expectation; Philip, tormented with remorſe, terminated, amidſt the horror of painful repentance, a life which his gloomy diſpoſition had rendered unfortunate to himſelf as well as to others.

During his laſt illneſs he revealed the infamous conduct of Perſes, in regard to his brother; and recommended to his ſubjects to acknowledge as king Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius. Perſes, however, who had taken proper meaſures to ſecure the kingdom to himſelf, having received early information of his father's death, arrived at the head Perſes, 2821.

of a body of troops; took poſſeſſion of the throne, and cauſed Antigonus to be diſpatched. His whole reign perfectly correſponded with this commencement. It would be difficult to find in hiſtory a man who committed murder with more indifference, or more ſpontaneouſly, were we allowed to apply that term to ſuch actions. The reader, no doubt, expects to find Perſes, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne, engaged in hoſtilities with the Romans. It is certain that theſe republicans treated him with the moſt diſdainful haughtineſs. Philip, in conſequence of a treaty with them, had engaged not to make war without their permiſſion. They extended this clauſe ſo far as to maintain that Perſes had no right to arm againſt his rebellious ſubjects without their approbation. In general, they behaved to him as to a man whom they wiſhed to inſult. All his actions excited ſuſpicion: if he had any diſputes with his neighbours, they accuſed him of being of a reſtleſs character and an enemy to peace; if he lived with them on good terms, they reproached him with attempting to augment his power by ſecret alliances, in order that he might put himſelf in a ſtate for carrying on war.

The laſt charge was not void of foundation. Had the advice of Perſes been followed, the Greeks, oppreſſed by the Roman power, would have expelled the armies of that ambitious republic, which reckoned thoſe only its friends who entirely ſub-

mitted to its will. Perſes, by means of remonſtrances, excited ſome of the Grecian ſtates againſt the Romans; formed alliances with the neighbouring kings; made a peace with the Thracians, in conſequence of which they were to furniſh him with troops; amaſſed a prodigious ſum of money; purchaſed proviſions ſufficient for ſeveral years; and raiſed a powerful army. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, jealous of the credit which theſe preparations gave to Perſes among the Greeks, denounced him to the ſenate. The king of Macedonia endeavoured to diſpatch Eumenes by means of aſſaſſins, who lay in wait for him in a hollow road, and almoſt buried him under a ſhower of ſtones. They imagined, therefore, that they had killed him; but he eſcaped, and obtained ſufficient proofs that Perſes had been the author of this plot formed againſt his life. The reſearches of Eumenes produced alſo another diſcovery:—that Perſes had engaged a man to go to Rome and poiſon the ſenators who had ſhewn themſelves moſt hoſtile to his views.

A war was ſoon the conſequence of the provocations given by both parties. The Romans were defeated in the firſt battle; but as Perſes had not ſufficient talents to take advantage of his victory, the war was prolonged, amidſt events which produced nothing deciſive. On one of theſe occaſions, being afraid that a large ſum of money, which he deſtined for building a fleet in the har-

bour of Theſſalonica, might be captured by the Romans, he ſent orders to two of his generals, Andronicus and Nicias, who commanded there, to burn the arſenal, together with the naval ſtores, and to throw the money into the ſea. The latter obeyed; but Andronicus thought it his duty to defer executing the king's command, and it appeared that he was right. The Roman general did not advance. When Perſes got the better of his terror, he ſent for divers to recover the treaſure; and ſoon after, to reward Andronicus for his wiſdom, Nicias for his obedience, and the divers for their labour, he cauſed them all to be put to death.

To theſe inſtances of cruelty we may add two ſignal acts of fraud; which by ſome politicians perhaps may be applauded. As Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was much reſpected by the Romans, and on that account had great influence in Greece, Perſes reſolved to deprive him of both theſe advantages by a pretended negotiation of neutrality, which would offend the pride of the republic, and make it behave with coolneſs towards Eumenes. He, therefore, offered him a large ſum of money if he would remain neuter in the war between him and the Romans. Eumenes fell into the ſnare; and when Perſes had obtained ſufficient proofs to expoſe the king of Pergamus, he communicated them to the Romans; and having thus deprived him of their friendſhip, retained his money. He

practiſed a like fraud, but under a different form, in regard to Gentius, king of Illyria. Gentius had remained neuter; but in order to cauſe a diverſion, it was thought proper to make him declare againſt the Romans. Perſes, according to his uſual cuſtom, ſent his treaſures before him, being fully reſolved not to let them eſcape from his hands. He agreed with Gentius that, as ſoon as he received the ſtipulated ſum, he was to come to an open rupture with the Romans. At the ſame time he ſent him ten talents by way of earneſt; ſhewed his ambaſſadors ſome boxes, ſealed and addreſſed to Gentius, which he ſaid contained the reſt, and which he ſent off along with them; but he deſired the conductors to proceed ſlowly. Gentius, when he received the earneſt, as he knew that the remainder of the money was approaching his frontiers, ſuddenly broke off all correſpondence with the Romans, and cauſed their ambaſſadors to be arreſted. Perſes being certain, after this violation of the rights of nations, that the king of Illyria had involved himſelf in a quarrel with the Romans, without the power of receding, ordered his boxes to be brought back; and thus procured, at a trifling expenſe, an advantageous diverſion.

It may be readily ſeen, that the Romans were engaged with an enemy fertile in reſources, who required all their attention. They, therefore, ſent againſt him the ableſt of their generals, the

Defeat of Perſes, 2832.

celebrated Paulus Æmilius, under whoſe command a well-planned campaign decided the fate of Perſes, and of Macedonia. This prince covered his kingdom by a ſtrong army intrenched behind Mount Olympus, ſo that the Romans were not able to attack him but by fortifying themſelves on that mountain. Some of the Roman generals believed, that it would be impoſſible to continue there for want of water; but Paulus Æmilius thought, that as the place abounded in graſs, and was ornamented with beautiful trees, it muſt contain ſprings. He accordingly led thither his army, and dug wells, which afforded an abundant ſupply of water. At the ſame time he diſpatched by a circuitous route a body of troops, who ſurprized the Macedonians, and obliged them to abandon their entrenchments. Paulus Æmilius afterwards deſcended into the plain, and preparations were made on both ſides for a general engagement.

The Macedonian army aſtoniſhed the Romans by its order and diſpoſition. The Thracian mercenaries, and the auxiliaries, formed ſo many ſelect corps; but the phalanx was the moſt remarkable. The fine appearance of the men of which it was compoſed, the richneſs of their dreſs, which was of ſcarlet, and the ſplendour and brilliancy of their arms, preſented a moſt ſtriking ſpectacle. Nothing was wanting to this army but an able general. It is not known by whom it was commanded: whether Perſes remained at Pydna, from which he be-

held the battle, or whether he was preſent in it. The moſt common opinion is, that he had received a kick from a horſe the evening before, and that notwithſtanding the pain of his wound he put himſelf at the head of his troops, and that he was even ſlightly wounded; but it is generally agreed, that he was among the foremoſt who fled, and that he placed his purple robe, after being folded up, on the bow of his ſaddle, and laid aſide his diadem that he might not be known. He proceeded without ſtopping to Pella, his capital, which he entered about midnight with only a few attendants, becauſe the greater part of the nobility of his court, as they were well aware that he puniſhed others without heſitation for the faults which he had committed himſelf, choſe rather to fall into the hands of the Romans than to follow him. They, indeed, had reaſon to applaud themſelves for their prudence, when they learned that two of his faithful ſervants having preſumed to give him advice reſpecting the circumſtances of the moment, he fell into ſuch a violent rage againſt them, that he ſtruck off their heads with his own hand. He was abandoned by all his followers except one body of Cretans, who remained with him, not ſo much through attachment to his perſon, as through the hope of participating in the treaſures which this wretched monarch carried about with him, and from which he ſcarcely ever averted his eyes.

Perſes, flying from town to town, retired to the iſland of Samothrace, where there was a highly reſpected temple dedicated to Caſtor and Pollux. He was attended thither by Evander, one of thoſe whom he had employed in the beginning of his reign to ſtone Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Both he and his maſter were under the greateſt apprehenſion that the Romans would not reſpect their aſylum. The inhabitants of Halicarnaſſus, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded by the Roman fleets and armies, were no leſs uneaſy reſpecting the preſervation of their privileges. While they were deliberating on this ſubject in the market place, a young Roman, mixing with the crowd, aſked them with an air of ſimplicity, whether it was true that Samothrace was conſidered as a ſacred iſland. "Without doubt," cried the whole aſſembly. "But do you believe," added the young man, "that it would be polluted if it ſerved as an "aſylum to an infamous aſſaſſin?" They all agreed that it would. "Well then," added he, "Evander, whoſe hiſtory he related, is juſt now in "your temple along with Perſes." When they heard this account they were ſtruck with horror; and it was immediately determined, that Evander ſhould quit the aſylum, or come and vindicate his conduct. Perſes was thrown into great embarraſſment by this reſolution; for to permit Evander to enter into a vindication of his conduct, would be to accuſe himſelf. The king adviſed him, there-

fore, in an amicable manner, rather to put himself to death. Evander did not relish this propoſal; but pretending to agree to it, he ſaid that he would prefer ſwallowing poiſon to death by the ſword. Perſes, who ſuſpected that he choſe poiſon merely that he might gain time for the purpoſe perhaps of charging him with the murder, purſued the moſt expeditious means, and cauſed him to be diſpatched by his ſervants.

This atrocity made all thoſe who could have been of any uſe to him keep at a diſtance; and he was no longer ſurrounded but by wretches who were only fit to betray him. By their advice he concluded a bargain with a Cretan, the captain of a veſſel, who agreed to tranſport him to Crete with his family and treaſures. Perſes ſent on board the veſſel in the evening his moſt valuable effects, and about midnight repaired himſelf to the ſea ſhore, according to appointment; but the Cretan had ſet ſail. The wretched monarch thus deſerted concealed himſelf in a ſmall wood, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Paulus Æmilius to inform him that he ſurrendered himſelf into his hands.

The conſul, ſurrounded by lictors, and all the inſignia of Roman grandeur, received him under an open tent. The prince appeared in a mourning habit, as if ready to ſink under his misfortune. After reproaching him in pretty moderate terms reſpecting his conduct towards the republic, Æmilius ſaid: "The Roman people are as much cele-

" brated for their clemency as their valour. You " may hope then, prince, and be even aſſured, " that they will be no leſs generous towards you " than they have been towards various other " princes ſubjected to their authority." Theſe conſoling words he addreſſed to Perſes in the Greek language; and then turning towards the Romans, ſpoke to them as follows in his native tongue: " Young Romans, you here ſee how un- " certain are all human things. Take advantage " of the leſſon given you by this ſtriking ex- " ample; learn that proſperity can never be in- " ſured by pride or violence; and remember, " that as our fate is liable at all times to " change, we ought never to place confidence in " the happineſs of the moment. True courage is " never elated in proſperity, and does not ſuffer " itſelf to be depreſſed by adverſity."

The conſequences were not agreeable to the hopes which the conſul had inſpired. As Perſes well knew that he was deſtined to add ſplendour to the triumph of the conqueror, he ſent to beg that he might be ſaved from the ſhame of being expoſed as a ſpectacle to the Romans. " The favour " which he requeſts," ſaid Æmilius coolly, " is in " his own power; it depends on himſelf to obtain " it." That is to ſay, he was at liberty to put himſelf to death: a great indulgence after the promiſe made to him of good treatment! He was led in triumph with his two ſons, Alexander and Philip, and an

infant daughter, accompanied by the officers of their houſehold. They all had their eyes bathed in tears; and while they ſaluted the people in a ſuppliant manner, they taught the young princes to ſtretch out alſo their innocent hands. The king of Macedonia, covered with a mourning habit, walked behind them alone, followed by a great number of Macedonians, all exhibiting in their looks every ſign of grief and deſpair. Beſides the treaſures of Perſes, and the rich ſpoils of the ſoldiers, there were exhibited on this occaſion thoſe almoſt of the whole world, ſince the kings of Aſia, by often plundering Greece, had tranſported to their own kingdoms the moſt beautiful works of induſtry, and the moſt eſteemed monuments of the arts. Theſe had been ſent to Macedonia by Alexander; and Paulus Æmilius, in his turn, carried away from all the cities whatever he found in them moſt valuable, in order to enrich Rome. The ſum of money which he ſent to the treaſury was ſo conſiderable, that it prevented the neceſſity of impoſing any tax on the Romans for a number of years.

After the triumph, Perſes was thrown into an infectious dungeon, with common criminals deſtined for puniſhment. As he was left ſeveral days without receiving any nouriſhment, he begged of his companions in miſery to ſhare with him their ſcanty portion. They offered him a rope or a dagger; but he refuſed to make uſe of them.

Some ſay, that he died in this priſon; and others, that he was removed to a commodious houſe, where he lived two years; but that his ill temper having rendered him inſupportable to his guards, they relieved each other in turns to prevent him from enjoying reſt, and thus occaſioned his death through want of ſleep. His two ſons and his daughter, led with him in triumph, were ſtill children. Philip and the young princeſs died; but Alexander was put apprentice to a carpenter. He applied afterwards to writing, and became a clerk or ſecretary in the ſenate. Gentius, king of Illyria, with his wife and family, were priſoners at Rome at the ſame time; but they were treated with much leſs ſeverity. The cities of Greece and Italy, ſubject to the Romans, ſaw arrive among them the principal Macedonian families, who had orders to quit the country, without knowing whether the revenues ariſing from the property taken from them would be preſerved for their uſe.

In regard to Macedonia itſelf, Paulus Æmilius declared that he rendered it free. How far this was the caſe may be ſeen by what follows. He divided the kingdom into four governments; forbade the inhabitants of one government, under the ſevereſt penalties, to have the leaſt intercourſe with the inhabitants of another; gave them new laws; took away their moſt valuable effects; obliged all the nobility above the age of fifteen to

leave the country; and forbade the richeſt mines to be worked. Of the two hundred talents which the Macedonians paid to their kings, the Roman conſul required only a hundred for the republic. But it is to be obſerved, that the two hundred were ſpent in the kingdom, and were therefore beneficial to it; whereas the hundred being exported every year, were mere loſs to the Macedonians. Such was the liberty granted to them by the conqueror! Perſes, an odious and deteſtable character, deſerved, no doubt, chaſtiſement; but when we ſee his children and his family, the principal nobility and the people, injured in their laws and manners, confined in their commercial correſpondence, and plundered methodically, and in the atrocious manner above related, can we with juſtice boaſt of the moderation of the Roman republic?

When Paulus Æmilius returned, the ſenate ſent commiſſioners who were charged to give ſome form to this republic compoſed of incoherent parts; for the cities governed themſelves without any general connection, as was the caſe alſo in regard to the four governments. The garriſons which the Romans had left under the pretence of protection, though they apparently aſſumed no right over the civil government, ſtill had an influence either by force or perſuaſion in the election of the magiſtrates and other civil officers. Thoſe moſt diſtinguiſhed by their probity and

talents were not the perſons choſen, but ſuch as ſhewed the greateſt devotion to the Romans. The bulk of the nation were really in a ſtate of ſlavery, while they poſſeſſed only the ſhadow of liberty. Tormented by the remembrance of their ancient grandeur, they longed for the moment when they ſhould find themſelves in a ſtate of independence; and nothing could give them ſatisfaction but the monarchic government adminiſtered with wiſdom.

While in this diſpoſition they with pleaſure ſaw appear a pretender to the throne, who called himſelf the ſon of Perſes. He gave out that he had been born to that prince by a concubine named Cyrtheſa, and that his father had cauſed him to be privately educated, in order that a branch of the royal family might remain, in caſe he ſhould miſcarry in his war againſt the Romans. This pretended prince was called Andriſcus; but when he appeared he aſſumed the name of Philip, under both which appellations he is equally known. As his firſt attempt was not ſucceſsful, he retired to Syria to Demetrius Soter, who had married a ſiſter of Perſes. But it would appear that Demetrius was not ſatisfied with the proofs of his birth, as he delivered him up to the Romans to avoid incurring their reſentment. The latter, either through contempt or indifference, being negligent in guarding him, he eſcaped to Thrace; and having collected ſome troops entered Macedonia, where his army increaſed, and conquered the kingdom in as little

time as had been employed by Paulus Æmilius to ſubdue it. The chief feature in his character was bravery carried to intrepidity, a virtue which was particularly pleaſing to the Macedonians. In other reſpects, he had all the vices of Perſes: cruelty, avarice, pride in proſperity, and meanneſs in misfortune.

Like him, after gaining advantages he had the imprudence to expoſe his crown to the hazard of a general battle. But being defeated, he was taken priſoner, and ſerved to ornament the triumph of Cecilius Metellus, his conqueror. The moſt common opinion reſpecting this Pſeudo-Philip, as he was called by the Romans, is that he was an impoſtor. His being abandoned by Demetrius Soter, who delivered him up to the Romans, ſeems to be a convincing proof of it; for had Demetrius believed that he was really his nephew, he would certainly not have behaved to him in that manner. He was followed by two other pretenders, the laſt of whom alſo aſſumed the name of Philip. Like the firſt, he found in the hatred of the Thracians to the Romans, and the diſcontent of the Macedonians, reſources which ſupported him for ſome time; but he at length periſhed in a battle. He was the laſt perſon who excited the Macedonians againſt the conquerors, with a view of reſtoring them to liberty, or of eſtabliſhing a right to the crown, either as the ſon of Perſes,

or a deſcendant from the ancient kings of Macedonia.

Macedonia became a Roman province, and in that ſtate was happier than when it had been an ally. Such was the conduct of the Romans, that though adorers of their own liberty, they were not fond of ſeeing it among others, and even perſecuted thoſe who ſeemed to enjoy it. But as they were well acquainted with the influence which the word liberty had over the human mind, they proclaimed it with pomp in their conqueſts, and they impoſed on it conditions and reſtrictions which rendered it burthenſome, and even dangerous. This gave riſe to quarrels between individuals and neighbouring towns, and ſometimes to civil wars, in which the protecting garriſons interpoſed their mediation and force. In a word, their conduct gave riſe to acts of defenſe or reſiſtance, which were treated as revolts. The Roman armies were put in motion, the country was ſubdued, and the allies became ſubjects. After this they were treated with the greateſt mildneſs. Thoſe whom they entruſted with the government were ſtrictly charged to endeavour to reconcile their new ſubjects to the yoke. Proconſuls who diſplayed incapacity were recalled, and the guilty were puniſhed.

We find an inſtance of the latter ſeverity in the hiſtory even of Macedonia. Junius Syllanus, a man of illuſtrious birth, behaved ſo ill in that

country, that his bad conduct, added to extortion and cruelty, excited the reſentment of the Macedonians, who carried their complaints to Rome. The ſenate ordered Syllanus to appear before them; and Manlius Torquatus, the father of the accuſed, having requeſted leave to judge his ſon's cauſe, the ſenate, convinced of his integrity, granted him that favour. The ſon being convicted and condemned, was expelled from his father's houſe as an infamous character; and he afterwards hung himſelf through deſpair. When the father was informed of this cataſtrophe, it ſeemed to produce no more effect upon him than if it had happened to a ſtranger. He cauſed the doors of his houſe to be opened, and applied to his uſual buſineſs, conſidering Syllanus as a man unconnected with his family, ſince he had renounced virtue. Might not Manlius have been magnanimous without entirely diveſting himſelf of ſenſibility?

The viciſſitudes of the kingdom of Macedonia are remarkable. It began by a colony of Argives, who formed a petty empire in a ſmall central ſpot ſurrounded by barbarians, who gradually joined them, and laſted about ſeven hundred years. The policy of the firſt kings, in not declaring againſt Perſia, made them enjoy peace, while all Greece was involved in the flames of war. Thus the treaſures of the cities which were attacked flowed into Macedonia, as into an aſylum; and the Perſian monarchs augmented the kingdom, that they

might attach it more firmly to their intereſt. The peace of the Macedonians was often diſturbed by the jealouſy of the Greek republics; but Philip attacked theſe republics in his turn, and got into his hands the ſupreme authority of Greece. He made uſe of it to pave the way to his ſon for the conqueſt of Aſia. After the death of Alexander, Macedonia was reduced to its former boundaries. It was gradually contracted by unfortunate foreign and civil wars, until being converted into a Roman province, it returned to that diminutive extent poſſeſſed by the Argives its founders; and it at length loſt even its name under the dominion of the Turks.

ASIA AFTER ALEXANDER *.

Aſia after Alexander. Under the Seleucidæ, called Syro-Media. 2687.

The Seleucidæ, or kings who ſucceeded Alexander in Syria and Upper Aſia, were ſo called from Seleucus, who founded that empire called the Syro-Median. He was the ſon of Antiochus, one of the principal captains of Philip, the father of Alexander. He attended that monarch during his conqueſts in Aſia, and was made commander-in-chief of the elephants, which was an office of ſome importance in the army. After the death of Alexander he was appointed by the protectors general of cavalry, and afterwards governor of Babylon. In this place he conceived a deſire of

* Under the Seleucidæ it was called Syro-Media.

becoming a ſovereign like the other generals of Alexander. Seleucus, in the proſecution of this deſign, proceeded with great dexterity between the different rivals, who attacked each other with the utmoſt fury. Antigonus, it is ſaid, diſcovered his ſtratagem, and endeavoured to arreſt him; but he eſcaped to Egypt, from which he returned with a ſmall army, and again took poſſeſſion of Babylon. From this centre he extended his empire to Media; but while employed with conqueſts, Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, retook Babylon, which he plundered with the utmoſt inhumanity. The exceſſes committed by this prince made the Babylonians regret Seleucus, who had always treated them with mildneſs. Being, therefore, recalled, he ſet out once more to extend his poſſeſſions; and, beſides Media, reduced to obedience Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the provinces formerly invaded by Alexander. On account of theſe numerous conqueſts he was ſtyled *Nicanor*, that is, conqueror, to which he added the title of king of Babylon and Media. The battle of Ipſus, in which Antigonus was killed, fully eſtabliſhed his empire.

Sixteen large cities are ſaid to have been built by this prince, the moſt conſiderable of which were, Antioch on the Orontes, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea, ſo called from the names of his wife and children. Others of leſs importance were named after other perſons, who enjoyed his

friendſhip: an attention which proves that this prince was fond of ſhewing marks of his affection, and that he wiſhed to perpetuate the remembrance of it. He fixed his habitation at Antioch, on the Orontes. The bed of the river Euphrates, by gradually becoming higher, had cauſed the water to overflow its banks, and to inundate the plains around Babylon, where it formed marſhes, which rendered the city uninhabitable. Nothing ſoon remained of it but the walls. In the fourth century of the chriſtian æra they ſerved to encloſe a park employed for confining wild beaſts. Scarcely any veſtiges of it can be diſtinguiſhed at preſent; and the place on which Babylon ſtood is even diſputed.

Antiochus. Stratonice.

Seleucus had a ſon, named Antiochus, whom he loved with the tendereſt affection. This prince was attacked by a lingering diſeaſe, the cauſe of which no perſon could diſcover. Eraſiſtratus, his phyſician, who had made himſelf well acquainted with the diſeaſes of the mind, an art more neceſſary in the medical profeſſion than is commonly imagined, diſcovered that the diſorder of Antiochus aroſe from the paſſion of love, and that the object of this paſſion was Stratonice, his mother-in-law, the moſt beautiful woman of her time. He found means to draw this confeſſion from his patient; who told him alſo, that having found all his efforts to overcome his paſſion uſeleſs, he had reſolved to put himſelf to death. Eraſiſtratus had

no ſooner made this diſcovery than he waited on the king, and informed him that his ſon's illneſs proceeded from love; but that it was incurable, becauſe it was impoſſible for him to enjoy the beloved object, or to live without her. "How, impoſſible to enjoy the object of his affection!" ſaid the king.—"Who is it then?" added he. "It is "my wife," replied Eraſiſtratus; "and I am "certainly not diſpoſed to reſign her to him." "What," replied the king, "can you, my friend "Eraſiſtratus, ſuffer my ſon, my only hope, to "periſh by refuſing him your wife? Where then "is your attachment towards me?" "But," returned the phyſician, "ſuppoſe the prince were "paſſionately fond of Stratonice, would you re"ſign your pretenſions to her, and follow that "advice yourſelf which you give to me?" "O "ye gods!" cried the father, "I wiſh I could "purchaſe my ſon's life by the ſacrifice of Stra"tonice. I would inſtantly reſign her and my "whole kingdom to ſave the life of a ſon who "is ſo dear to me." Eraſiſtratus took the monarch at his word. "Antiochus," ſaid he, "can "have no other ſaviour but you; for the object "of his love is Stratonice." Seleucus made no heſitation, and reſigned his wife to his ſon.—Would he have reſigned his miſtreſs with the ſame eaſe?

At this period two only of the thirty-ſix gene- 2719.
rals of Alexander, Seleucus and Lyſimachus, were

alive; but the noble remains of the vaſt empire which they poſſeſſed were not able to gratify their ambition. They endeavoured to deprive each other of certain parts, which they both ought to have abandoned, in order to paſs their old age in peace. The thirſt of power kept them in a continual ſtate of hoſtility till the laſt moment of their lives. Lyſimachus periſhed in battle, and Seleucus did not long ſurvive him, being aſſaſſinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, for whom he was about to prepare a ſmall ſtate in Macedonia. This prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf among all the kings of his time, not only by his warlike virtues, but by his love of juſtice, his clemency, and his profound reſpect for religion. He was fond of letters, and encouraged men of learning. The ſuperb library which Xerxes had taken from the Athenians was reſtored to them by Seleucus. He uſed to ſay: "Did men know how painful the "duties of royalty are, none of them would be "ſo mad as to accept a crown, or even to take it "up were it thrown at their feet."

Antiochus Soter. Antiochus Theos. 2738. Invaſion of the Gauls.

Under Antiochus Soter, his ſucceſſor, the Gauls, invited to Aſia by Nicomedes king of Bythinia, repaired thither, and founded a ſtate called Gallo-Græcia, or Gallatia. Seven hundred years after, according to a cotemporary author, the ſame language was ſpoken in that country as in the neighbourhood of Triers. The happineſs of the king of Syria was diſturbed by domeſtic troubles.

One of his ſons revolted, and was puniſhed with death. It is not improbable that the cauſe of his rebellion was the predilection ſhewn by the father for the ſon of Stratonice, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor. The latter when he aſcended the throne aſſumed the name of *Theos*, that is, god. The ſame title had been given to his father, his grand-father, and their wives; but only after their death. Under this prince lived Beroſus, the hiſtorian of Babylon, who dedicated his work to him. Love, and the madneſs which attends that paſſion, occaſioned a war between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Magas, king of Cyrene and Lybia, had promiſed Berenice and his ſtates as a dowry to the ſon of the Egyptian monarch. On his death his widow Apame refuſed to adhere to an engagement which had been made againſt her inclination, and ſhe invited to receive her daughter's hand Demetrius, brother to a king of Macedonia. This prince, who was one of the handſomeſt men of his time, excited the affection of the widow, and ſhe reſolved to marry him herſelf, to the prejudice of Berenice. Being certain of the mother's attachment, Demetrius ſhewed very little reſpect for the daughter, and ſtill leſs for the courtiers and miniſters. They all, therefore, reſolved to get rid of him; and Berenice having conducted the conſpirators to her mother's apartment, they put him to death, notwithſtanding the efforts of the queen, who covered him

with her own body, to defend him from the blows of the aſſaſſins. Berenice went to conclude her marriage in Egypt, and the king ſeized on her dowry. Apame then retired to Antiochus Theos, and perſuaded him to endeavour to wreſt from the hands of her ſon-in-law the ſtates which her daughter had brought to him.

Parthians. 2741.

This gave riſe to a bloody war, which was ſuſpended on the part of Antiochus by a revolt of the Parthians and Bactrians: the former were commanded by Arſaces, a young nobleman of the country; and the latter by Theodotus, governor for the king of Syria. The embarraſſment into which Antiochus was thrown by the rebels compelled him to make a peace, ſealed by a marriage; but the conſequences of it proved exceedingly fatal to him. He had two children by Laodice his wife, who was alſo his ſiſter; yet he divorced her, in order that he might marry Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, who brought him immenſe riches. As long as the Egyptian monarch lived, Antiochus ſhewed great reſpect for his daughter, whom he loved to ſuch a degree, that he ſent to Antioch water of the Nile, which it was thought the ſtate of her health required; but unfortunately for Berenice, he died two years after her marriage. Antiochus then diſmiſſed her, and took back Laodice, who returned with her two children, Seleucus and Antiochus Hierax, but with a firm reſolution of preventing the fu-

ture inconſtancy of her huſband. She adopted indeed a very ſure method of effecting her purpoſe, which was to deſtroy him by poiſon; and every precaution had been taken to render her crime uſeful. She placed in the bed of the deceaſed a man named Artemon, who in his features and voice had a perfect reſemblance to the king. The impoſtor recommended to the nobility, who came to viſit him, his wife and his children. Laodice, at the ſame time, cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued in the name of her huſband, whom the people believed to be ſtill alive, by which her eldeſt ſon Seleucus was appointed ſucceſſor to the crown.

Berenice eſcaped, with her ſon at her breaſt, to Daphne, a delightful place, ſituated almoſt at the gates of Antioch, where there was a temple dedicated to Apollo, conſidered as an inviolable aſylum. The cruel Laodice, however, paid as little reſpect to the innocence of her rival, as ſhe had done to the ſacred bonds of hymen. She cauſed Berenice to be maſſacred, together with her child. The king of Egypt, who haſtened to her relief, at the head of an army, arrived too late to prevent the murder, but time enough to puniſh Laodice, whom he put to death. Seleucus and Antiochus, ſons worthy of this Megara, ſpent their lives in diſputing for the throne, which they aſcended in turns. By a remarkable ſingularity, they both died in confinement: Antiochus, in Egypt, almoſt on the threſhold

Seleucus Callinicus. Antiochus Hierax. Seleucus Ceraunus. 2770.

of his priſon, from which he was endeavouring to eſcape; and Seleucus, a captive to Arſaces king of the Parthians. The latter was ironically ſurnamed Callinicus, the Victorious, becauſe he ſucceeded in none of his enterprizes; Antiochus was called Hierax, the Hawk, becauſe no prey came wrong to him; and Seleucus, the ſon of Callinicus, who ſucceeded him, was ſtyled Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, alſo by an antiphraſis, becauſe he was as weak in mind as feeble in body. He reigned only three years; but in that ſhort ſpace was expoſed to the perfidious efforts of a conſpiracy, which had almoſt overturned the throne. He maintained himſelf on it, however, by the councils of his couſin Achæus, the ſon of Andromachus, his mother's brother; but this faithful relation was not able to ſecure him from poiſon. Achæus puniſhed the criminals, and the crown was offered to him, to the prejudice of the brother of the deceaſed king; but he refuſed it, and employed himſelf with ſucceſs in ſecuring it to Antiochus, who was only fourteen years of age, and whom he took under his protection.

Antiochus the Great, 2775.

In hiſtory this prince has been ſtyled the Great, and he ſeems to be equally entitled to it by his noble actions and his faults, his proſperity and his misfortunes. Among the laſt may be reckoned the blind confidence which he long placed in Hermias, who had been the miniſter of his father Ceraunus, and whom he retained in the ſame

quality. Hermias was obſtinate, jealous of excluſive favour, imperious, and cruel; an enemy to thoſe who poſſeſſed talents likely to obſcure his own, and could neither bear contradiction nor remonſtrance; but he poſſeſſed, in a ſovereign degree, the art of captivating the mind of his maſter.

By the arrangement made at the beginning of his reign, Achæus took charge of the provinces of Aſia Minor; Molo was ſent as governor to Media, and Alexander to Perſia. The two latter were brothers, and both able generals. Epigenes, who poſſeſſed equal experience, a man of profound ſenſe and irreproachable character, remained with the young monarch, to command the army attached to his perſon; but his noble qualities excited the hatred and jealouſy of Hermias. It is believed alſo that the revolt of Molo and Alexander was occaſioned by the haughtineſs and oppreſſion of the miniſter. It broke out juſt at the moment when Antiochus had engaged in a war againſt Ptolemy Philopater king of Egypt. Epigenes was of opinion that it would be prudent for the monarch to ſubdue the rebels and reſtore peace to his kingdom, before he ſhould attack another; but this meaſure was oppoſed by his rival Hermias. He pretended that it was not the buſineſs of Antiochus to attack the rebels; that this taſk was fit only for his general; and that being a king he ought to combat againſt none but kings.

This oſtentatious advice prevailed over the ſound reaſoning of Epigenes. The miniſter even found means to make Epigenes, on account of his perſiſting in his opinion, to be ſuſpected of colluſion with the rebellious governors. Antiochus, however, leaving his general to exerciſe his own diſcretion againſt the rebels, went himſelf to attack the king of Egypt; but the latter deigned to oppoſe to him only his generals, who did not ſuffer him to approach the frontiers.

During this ſhameful expedition the rebels acquired more ſtrength, and gained a battle. It was then debated in the council whether the king ſhould proceed againſt them in perſon, or continue to haraſs Egypt. Hermias and Epigenes, in the courſe of this diſcuſſion, again advanced contrary opinions. That of Epigenes prevailed; but Hermias did not fail to be ſoon revenged for this preference. The uſeleſs expedition againſt Egypt had exhauſted the treaſury, and when it was neceſſary to march, no money could be procured. The troops murmured, and the king found himſelf under great embarraſſment. Hermias then offered to pay the army with his own money, if the king would diſmiſs Epigenes. He coloured over this inſolent propoſal with a pretence that after the diſſenſion which had taken place between them, they ſhould never be able to agree, and that the public buſineſs would ſuffer by their diſcord. To his great regret, Antiochus left Epigenes in Apamea,

with ſtrict orders not to quit it. Hermias, however, did not content himſelf with a ſimple arreſt. After the departure of the king, he cauſed Epigenes to be conveyed to the citadel; and as the governor of it was entirely at his devotion, he charged him to find out ſome crime of which his priſoner might be accuſed. To ſuppoſe a ſecret correſpondence by letters between him and the rebels; to accuſe him before his own tribunal; to condemn him and cauſe him to be executed, was for the governor the affair of one day; and for Hermias to obtain the king's approbation, was the affair of a moment.

Antiochus defeated the rebels; and Molo killed himſelf after an unfortunate battle. One of his brothers, named Neolaus, eſcaped, and carried to his other brother, Alexander, the news of his defeat. Finding themſelves without any reſource, they firſt put to death their mother, then their wives, and afterwards themſelves. Such cruel ſcenes frequently took place in Aſia, where the conquerors were accuſtomed to ſpare none of the family of the conquered, leſt there ſhould remain avengers; and through a dread that this deſtruction might be accompanied with torture, the unhappy wretches choſe rather to deſtroy themſelves. Antiochus conceived a deſign of adding to the provinces he had juſt conquered, Media, a neighbouring kingdom, inhabited by a warlike people. Hermias at firſt oppoſed this expedition, in which

the king, from whom he derived all his authority, might periſh; but having learned that the queen was juſt brought to bed of a ſon, he ſtrongly urged the king to engage in the war, under an idea that he would be killed, and that he ſhould then be appointed tutor to the young prince. He was deceived, however, in his expectations. The ambitious pretenſions of Antiochus were confined to a treaty of peace; the diſadvantages of which the attacked king, who was enfeebled by age, preferred to the danger of hoſtilities.

Hermias ſtill reigned with inſolent deſpotiſm, which he extended even to his maſter. He ſometimes ſpoke to Antiochus in a tone very far diſtant from that of reſpect. This behaviour had excited umbrage in the mind of the king againſt his miniſter, but he durſt not diſcloſe it. It was therefore a relief to him, when his phyſician Apollophanes, by ſome advances, encouraged him to explain himſelf on this ſubject. He was as ſenſible as the phyſician of the pride, obſtinacy, and cruelty of Hermias; but Apollophanes having convinced him, that by abandoning ſo much authority to ſuch a miniſter was expoſing himſelf to danger, the deſtruction of Hermias was reſolved on. Antiochus enticed him to a ſecret place, and cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by his guards. All Syria was filled with the utmoſt joy by his death. When the news reached Apamea, the inhabitants, as if frantic, hurried to the houſe where his

wife lodged, and ſtoned her to death, with their children.

One of the greateſt crimes of Hermias was that of having rendered Achæus criminal, and Antiochus cruel. Faithful to his pupil, for whom he had procured the empire, Achæus did his utmoſt endeavour to render his government in Aſia Minor flouriſhing. He undertook againſt his uſurping neighbour, expeditions which terminated happily; and this ſucceſs excited the jealouſy of Hermias, who endeavoured to ruin Achæus in the eſteem of Antiochus, by aſcribing to him ambitious views, and a ſecret connection with Ptolemy; a crime unpardonable with the king of Syria, who ſtill had an eye on Egypt. Achæus well knew that this calumny met with credit; and as the plots formed by the miniſter appeared to him of ſuch a nature as to require the greateſt precaution for the ſecurity of his life, he thought he could find no better means of accompliſhing his views than to aſſume the crown he had before refuſed, and to cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed king of Aſia.

Thus what had been ſuppoſed became reality. 2782.
Achæus entered into an engagement with Ptolemy, who was able to ſupport him; and Antiochus ſaw himſelf threatened with a dangerous war. He was powerfully aſſiſted in it by Theodotus the Ætolian, who by ſome court intrigues had been forced to quit the government of Cœleſyria, which

he held from Ptolemy, and to throw himſelf into the arms of Antiochus. He was a man not only able in council but in execution, as appears by the following anecdote. Being well acquainted with the Egyptian language and manners, he conceived a deſign of avenging himſelf on the king of Egypt for the injuſtice he had experienced from his miniſter. He ſtole imperceptibly one evening into the camp, accompanied only by two ſoldiers, and proceeded to the tent of the king. Very fortunately Ptolemy had gone out; and as Theodotus did not find him, he wiſhed at any rate to leave ſome proofs of his boldneſs; he therefore killed his phyſician, and wounded two other perſons. This intrepid action ſpread alarm and terror throughout the whole army; and, in conſequence of the confuſion, Theodotus eſcaped in ſafety.

The battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus ſuſtained a very great loſs, would have occaſioned that of all Syria, had he been engaged with a prince leſs indolent, and leſs fond of pleaſure than the monarch of Egypt. It would appear that this prince wiſhed for nothing more of victory than the triumph. After carrying his laurels into ſeveral provinces which ſubmitted, and overrunning Paleſtine as far as Jeruſalem, the temple of which he viſited, being deſirous of enjoying eaſe and luxury in his palace, he granted an advantageous peace to Antiochus. This peace was a mortal blow to the unfortunate Achæus. His old pupil

who had full time to make the neceſſary preparations for purſuing him, obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Sardis; but three Cretans, by an act of treachery, performed with great ability, drew him from that aſylum, and for a ſtipulated ſum delivered him up to the king. Antiochus ſaw him, ſhed tears, and cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. He afterwards endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the Syrian empire in its ancient ſplendour. He expelled the Parthians from Media, purſued them to their own country, forced their king Arſaces to fly to Hyrcania, the capital of which he took, and afterwards granted him peace. He proceeded thence to Bactria, which he would have united to his empire, had he not preferred leaving it under the dominion of a king, to ſerve as a barrier againſt the irruptions of the Scythians. In theſe wars, which laſted ſeven years, Antiochus ſhewed as much ability as valour. He was wounded; undertook laborious marches at the head of his army; expoſed himſelf to the ſame ſufferings as his ſoldiers—hunger and thirſt, the piercing cold of the mountains of Armenia, and the ſuffocating heat of the deſerts. By this expedition, for which he ought to be claſſed among the moſt celebrated warriors, he acquired the ſurname of Great, which he might have borne with glory to the end of his life, had he not undertaken a war againſt the Romans.

It appears, and ought to be remarked, that this 2797.

war was juſt on the part of the republic. In the commencement of it the Romans acted only as the protectors of Ptolemy Philopator, an infant whoſe ſtates Antiochus wiſhed to invade, and who to enable him to commit that act of injuſtice had formed an alliance with Philip king of Macedonia; but afterwards they appeared as protectors of the free cities of Aſia Minor, and particularly the kingdom of Pergamus, which excited the avarice of the king of Syria. The firſt conqueſt he proceeded to make, in order to obtain the reſt, was that of Thrace. The Romans pretended that it belonged to them as depending on Macedonia, and as being an indemnification for the war which they had maintained againſt Philip. Antiochus carried his right ſo far back as the conqueſt of that province by Seleucus, his great grand-father, from Lyſimachus, one of the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Had the claimants ſpoken out clearly, without involving their pretenſions in haughty ſpeeches, which, though admired, exhibit nothing but conteſts of pride, Antiochus would have ſaid: "I have need of Thrace in order that I may "reach Greece, and enſure that power which I "wiſh to eſtabliſh over ſuch ſtates as I think "proper:" and the Romans would have replied: "From Greece you may advance to Italy: we "will not ſuffer you to ſet a foot in Europe." Such, in a few words, were the motives of this war, which procured to the Romans an entrance

into Aſia; and which, in the courſe of time, carried them much farther into that vaſt country than they had at firſt imagined.

The Egyptian war was ſuſpended or terminated 2804.
by a promiſe of marriage between two children of four or five years of age, young Ptolemy and a daughter of Antiochus. The minority of the young prince was diſturbed by the revolt of Scopas the Ætolian, who, though only the chief of a body of auxiliaries, aſpired to the throne; but he was anticipated in his deſigns, and puniſhed. Dicearchus, one of his principal accomplices, was a man void of faith or modeſty, and who gloried in his villany. Having been entruſted by Philip king of Macedonia with the managementt of an expedition, in defiance of a ſolemn treaty, he cauſed two altars to be raiſed to injuſtice and impiety, and offered up ſacrifices to both. He however ſhewed this difference from common hypocrites and villains, that he at leaſt publicly adored the divinities whom he harboured in his breaſt.

As Antiochus had ſuſpended the Egyptian war, 2804.
he perhaps might have deferred that which he was planning againſt the Romans, had not his uncertainty been fixed by Hannibal. This great general, expelled by the hatred of the Romans from the ruins of Carthage, where he ſtill cauſed the rival of his country to tremble, had taken ſhelter in the court of Syria, where he made Antiochus acquainted with the ſtratagems of the

ſenate, and ſhewed him that the Romans only wiſhed to amuſe him by their embaſſies; that all their propoſals were inſidious; and that they were determined, at any rate, to involve him in war, that they might ſubject him to their laws. As Antiochus was too well convinced of the truth of this information, he made great preparations; and heſitated only in regard to the time and manner of employing them.

But this Hannibal, ſo deeply ſkilled in politics, and ſo well acquainted with the duplicity of the Romans, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by their ambaſſadors. Theſe ambaſſadors having gone to pay him a viſit at Epheſus, where he was waiting for the king in order to determine reſpecting the war, treated him with every mark of kindneſs and reſpect; reproached him in a friendly manner on account of the inveterate hatred which he entertained againſt the republic; informed him that the Romans entertained very different ſentiments towards him—that his name was never pronounced at Rome without tranſports of admiration, and that they wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity of obliging him. This flattery produced the intended effect. Hannibal, ſwallowing with avidity the poiſon of adulation, was eager to pay his court to thoſe who poured it out. He conſidered their aſſiduity as highly honourable to his character; and that he might not loſe, for a moment, converſation ſo agreeable to his feelings,

he gave them lodging in his own houſe. What the perfidious ambaſſadors wiſhed and foreſaw, took place. Antiochus was offended: he thought the Carthaginian had become reconciled to the Romans; and he withdrew from him his confidence.

Hannibal was ſoon ſenſible of his fault; and having with difficulty procured acceſs to the king, from whoſe preſence he had been excluded by the intrigues of the ambaſſadors, and by jealouſy, addreſſed him as follows: "At the age of nine, I "ſwore at the altar, between the arms of my fa- "ther Hamilcar, never to enter into an alliance "with the Romans, and to carry my hatred "againſt them along with me to the grave. It "was a deſire of fulfilling this ſolemn engage- "ment, and of effecting their ruin, that induced "me to quit Carthage, and to repair to Syria. If "you diſdain the offer of my aſſiſtance I will go "to every place where ſoldiers or arms can be "found, and will excite enemies againſt the Ro- "mans. My hatred againſt them is as ſtrong as "theirs againſt me. If you perſiſt in your in- "tention of declaring war againſt them, you will "have no greater friend than Hannibal; but if "you incline towards peace, from me you can "expect nothing. I breathe nothing but war; "and if I fail in fomenting it here, I will go to "every country where I have any hopes of ex- "citing it." He then entered into an explanation

of his plan for carrying it on. "It is not in "Greece, but in Italy," added he, "that you "can combat with ſucceſs. There you will find "whole nations impatient of the Roman yoke, "who will ſtrengthen your armies. You flatter "yourſelf that it will be difficult for the Romans "to tranſport their legions to the eaſt; but they "know how to ſurmount every obſtacle. In a "little time you will ſee your kingdom inundated "as if by a torrent which has overturned its "mounds. What I here tell you in private I will "maintain, if neceſſary, in the preſence of your whole "court. "Have I not a right to teach your gene- "rals in what manner they ought to carry on war "againſt the Romans? Did not theſe haughty "republicans always find me invincible, as long "as I combated in Italy? But Carthage was ſo "imprudent as to recal me to Africa, and I was "forced to bend before a conqueror, who was "unable to face me in Italy. Take my advice, "lead your troops into the country of the Ro- "mans, and thus check in its ſource the inunda- "tion with which you are threatened." Hanni- bal then traced out the plan of an attack to be made in conjunction with the Gauls, the Cartha- ginians, their African allies, and the diſcontented cities of Greece, whom the enemy of the Romans propoſed to put in motion. He fixed the ſtation for the armies and fleets, with the proper points of ſupport, and developed a general invaſion, which

would have thrown the Romans into great embarraſſment had it been wholly adopted, and had the operations been begun with ſpeed.

But Antiochus ſuffered himſelf to be anticipated. At the age of fifty he became enamoured of a beautiful Chalcidian, and amuſed himſelf with the joys of wedlock. While he was thus loſt in pleaſure, the conſul Acilius forced the paſſage of Thermopylæ, gained a battle, and compelled him to return to Aſia; ſoon after his fleet was defeated, and the way was then left open for the Romans, both by land and by ſea. The king of Syria imagined he ſhould be able to retard their progreſs by excurſions againſt their allies, and in particular by invading the territories of the king of Pergamus, whoſe kingdom he plundered; but they did not alter their plan, and always continued to advance ſpite of every oppoſition. He endeavoured alſo to excite enemies againſt them. "Theſe deſpotic republicans," ſaid he to Pruſias king of Bythinia, "are the moſt implacable ene- "mies of monarchs, and wiſh to overturn all "their thrones; colouring their injuſtice with the "ſpecious pretext of giving liberty to the people, "they induce them to revolt againſt their lawful "ſovereigns. After having ſubdued Thrace and "Macedonia, they now come to attack me; and "if I have not ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt them, "you may expect to ſee them enter Bythinia." This reaſoning was juſt, and founded on experi- 2808.

ence; but Antiochus ſtill retreated, and the Romans advanced, while Pruſias gave them the preference, and accepted their alliance.

Antiochus, thrown into deſpair by his repeated defeats, was at a loſs what meaſures to purſue: "I do not know," ſaid he, in the depth of his diſtreſs, "what god has drawn a veil over my "eyes. All my deſigns have been attended with "diſappointment. Heaven perſiſts to perſecute "me, and every thing ſeems to announce my "ſpeedy ruin." At this time he had againſt him the two Scipios. Africanus had readily engaged to ſerve under his younger brother, in a war where he was to be oppoſed to Hannibal; but this great general enjoyed only a kind of half-confidence with Antiochus, and was not allowed to contend on equal terms againſt his ancient rival. All the predictions of the Carthaginian hero were realiſed. The Romans, whom he ought to have kept within their own territories, paſſed the Helleſpont, and entered Aſia, while Antiochus was ſeized with terror as he ſaw himſelf ready to be attacked in the centre of his ſtates, and expoſed to the neceſſity of hazarding the fate of a battle.

2980. Either through policy, or that goodneſs of heart which was natural to him, he had treated with great reſpect Scipio's eldeſt ſon, as yet a youth, whom his father had been obliged to leave ſick in a town which afterwards fell into the hands of Antiochus. The latter knowing that the father

was confined to his bed by indiſpoſition, ſent back to him his young priſoner, and the preſence of this darling child reſtored Africanus to health. The king had accompanied his preſent with propoſals of peace; but though Scipio did not think them proper to be accepted, he ſent back word to him that all the advice he could give him at the moment was, not to think of coming to an engagement until he himſelf ſhould arrive at the camp. The Roman general, no doubt, felt ſome compaſſion for the prince, and he flattered himſelf with the hope of being able, without prejudice to the intereſt of the Romans, to bring about an accommodation between them and the king. But the other Scipio fearing that if he waited for his brother the whole glory of the conqueſt of Aſia might fall to Africanus, made an offer of battle to Antiochus in the plains of Magneſia. The monarch did not decline the conteſt; but his army, though far more numerous, was entirely defeated. Scipio the younger was indebted for his victory, not ſo much to his own ability and efforts, as to thoſe of Eumenes king of Pergamus, whoſe kingdom Antiochus had ravaged. Antiochus, therefore, had to contend againſt an enemy inflamed with a deſire of revenge, and againſt the Romans, accuſtomed to conquer, and proud of their former ſucceſs. The latter found among the Aſiatics ſoldiers worthy of being oppoſed to them; but the habit of ſtrict diſcipline prevailed. The victorious

army was enriched by the plunder of the camp, the moſt abundant in valuable articles of every kind that perhaps ever exiſted. The booty obtained in the cities, which ſurrendered in ſucceſſion, formed a maſs of treaſure with which even Rome found itſelf overloaded. "Luxury," ſays one of the Roman poets, "adorned with the "ſpoils of Aſia, entered Rome in triumph, having every vice in its train. It occaſioned more "miſchief to the Romans than the moſt deſtructive war, and avenged the conquered world."

The unfortunate Antiochus was obliged to ſubſcribe to a treaty the moſt humiliating perhaps ever dictated to a great power. The Romans required, beſides a renunciation of his rights, that he ſhould deliver up his elephants, his galleys, and veſſels of every kind, together with ten proſcribed perſons, among whom was Hannibal; twenty hoſtages between the age of eighteen and forty-five, at the option of the Romans, and among that number his own ſon; five hundred and forty thouſand buſhels of wheat; and fifteen thouſand talents, to be paid in equal parts, for twelve years, as tribute, but two thouſand five hundred down for the expenſes of the war. They limited alſo his navigation, and the number of his troops, as well as his alliances and connexion with his neighbours. Antiochus ſubmitted to all theſe conditions; ſuffered his ſhips to be burnt, and aſſiſted at the ſacrifice which was to ratify the treaty. In

conſequence of this ceremony, each of the contracting parties ſtruck the victim, and ſaid: "If I violate my engagement, may Jupiter ſtrike me as I ſtrike this victim."

After this period, Antiochus wandered about in his kingdom, going from town to town as if afraid that by ſtopping in one place he ſhould leave ſome veſtiges of his diſgrace. It is ſaid that his chief object on this occaſion was to collect the firſt ſum of money which he owed to the Romans. It is believed alſo that he concealed himſelf in the delightful country behind Mount Taurus, that he might abandon himſelf with more freedom to every kind of debauchery: an infamous reſource, too often employed by old men when under misfortune. In that ſituation he was put to death by his own officers, whom he had maltreated after drinking to exceſs, or by the hands of the people, irritated to ſee the treaſures of their temples carried away to pay the Romans. The end of Antiochus the Great was like that of thoſe rivers, which, after flowing ſome time with a majeſtic courſe, hide themſelves ignominiouſly in the ſand.

Seleucus Philopator, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Antiochus, being embarraſſed to collect the tribute promiſed by his father, ſpent almoſt the whole of his reign in ſearching for money: he is called therefore in the ſcriptures the *Collector*. Under this prince happened the famous adventure of Seleucus Philopator, 2812.

Heliodorus, his treaſurer, related in the ſecond book of Maccabees. Being ſent by the monarch to ſeize on a conſiderable ſum, ſaid to be contained in the temple of Jeruſalem, he was repulſed by a celeſtial power, and returned without the money, half dead through the effects of a ſevere ſcourging which he had received. "If you have "any enemy," ſaid he to the king when he came back, "ſend him thither, and you may be ſure "he will never return. For He who inhabits the "heavens has declared himſelf the defender of "the temple, againſt every perſon who may be "ſo preſumptuous as to attempt to profane it." This Heliodorus, though puniſhed for his ſacrilege, was not afraid of again expoſing himſelf to the divine vengeance by a murder. He poiſoned Seleucus with a deſign of uſurping the crown; and he perhaps might have ſucceeded had it not been for the arrival of Antiochus, the brother of the deceaſed king.

Antiochus Epiphanes, 2823.

This prince had been put into the hands of the Romans as an hoſtage by his father Antiochus the Great. His brother required that he might be given up; and in exchange for him, ſent his ſon Demetrius. Antiochus learned by the way the crime of Heliodorus, and was informed of his intended projects. He learned alſo that he would have a competitor in Ptolemy king of Egypt, the nephew of the deceaſed king; but fortunately he was furniſhed with an army by Eumenes king

of Pergamus, who, proceeding at the head of it into Aſia, placed him on the throne; though according to the ſucceſſion it ought to have been reſerved for Demetrius.

The character of Antiochus, as drawn by hiſtorians, is exceedingly whimſical. He was fond, it is ſaid, of running about in the ſtreets of Antioch with two or three domeſtics, and of paſſing whole days in the ſhops of the engravers and goldſmiths, converſing with them reſpecting their trade, which he pretended to know much better than they. If he met any of the lower claſſes of the people, he readily entered into converſation with them; drank with the meaneſt of his ſubjects; formed parties of pleaſure with young perſons, and danced and ſung without any regard to his dignity. Theſe were faults againſt decency, which rendered him ridiculous. Sometimes he was ſeen in the Roman dreſs, running from houſe to houſe, as was practiſed at Rome when the magiſtrates were elected; preſſing the citizens to give him their ſuffrages; preſenting his hand to one, embracing another, and ſoliciting ſometimes for the place of ædile, and ſometimes for that of tribune. According to the nature of the magiſtracy which he obtained, he would hear petty cauſes relating to contracts and ſales made in the market, and paſs ſentence with an air of affected gravity. He was fond of wine and good cheer, even to exceſs; and when intoxicated, he threw by

handfuls among the populace money, or ſtones, which he had previouſly provided. This prince was ſtyled Epiphanes, the *Illuſtrious*; but it would have been more proper to have called him Epimanes, the *Madman*. However, as every thing is reconciled in ſome characters, it muſt be allowed that Antiochus could intermix great things with theſe mean actions.

Four expeditions which he undertook againſt Egypt were concerted with addreſs, and conducted with bravery and ability. He ſent ſpies, under the title of ambaſſadors, to examine minutely the forces of the kingdom, the ſtate of the troops, and the character of the miniſters during the minority of a very young king, and to ſee in what manner his affairs were conducted. When he knew that negligence, want of diſcipline, and effeminacy, every-where prevailed, he entered the kingdom, under pretences which may always be found, and took ſome towns, and gained ſeveral battles. The young king, Ptolemy Philometor, who was his relation, threw himſelf into his arms as loſt. Antiochus gave him a favourable reception, but carried him away priſoner, as well as all the gold, ſilver, and precious veſſels, which he could find in that opulent country. This formed ſo much towards paying the tribute due to the Romans. When he tranſmitted the money to them, he took care to add ſome of the rarities of Egypt, to make the ſenate ſatisfied with

his reaſons for attacking it. The ſenate received his preſents, but did not declare its ſentiments reſpecting his expedition; ſo that Antiochus was emboldened to undertake another, which, on account of the pillage of the maritime cities, was equally lucrative.

The Egyptians having no hope of ſeeing Ptolemy Philometor releaſed from his captivity, placed upon the throne his younger brother, named Ptolemy Euergetes, or Phyſcon, that is to ſay, Big-belly. This gave occaſion to Antiochus to enter the kingdom; and the council of the new king reſolved to ſolicit the protection of the Romans for an unfortunate minor, perſecuted by his relation. Theſe republicans, flattered by this ſupplication, and ambitious of being called the tutors of kings, a title which they aſſumed afterwards, ſent ambaſſadors to enquire into the nature of the diſpute. The cauſe was pleaded with great ſolemnity in the camp of Antiochus, who determined to enter into an accommodation; but he ſaid that he had occaſion for two men, then at a great diſtance, and who would be a long time in arriving, to clear up certain points, and to regulate the conditions. But the arbiters having made him aſhamed of the evaſion which he employed, he added: "Let us ſay "nothing more on the ſubject; Egypt belongs to "Ptolemy Philometor, the eldeſt of the two bro- "thers; let him be recalled; let him be placed on "the throne, and the war will be terminated."

He expected that neither of the two brothers would yield; that a quarrel would therefore arise, and that he could take advantage of that opportunity to ruin them both. A quarrel indeed took place, but it was checked by their sister Cleopatra, who made them consent to hold the helm of government in conjunction. This union gave great joy to the Egyptians, and occasioned the utmost uneasiness to Antiochus, who made haste to interrupt or oppose it, but he found by the way the ancient arbiters. Never did the Roman majesty shine with so much splendour. Three ambassadors, among whom was Popilius, arrived with a simple train, without fleet or army. As Antiochus had known the latter during the time he resided at Rome as an hostage, he advanced, and stretched out his hand to him. "I will not accept that sign "of friendship," said the Roman, "until you "have read the decree of the senate." This decree interdicted him from proceeding to hostilities. Antiochus read it without any apparent emotion, and said he would return an answer when he had consulted his council. Popilius having a rod in his hand, drew a circle on the sand around the king, and said: "You shall not quit this circle "until you declare, whether you accept or refuse "the proposals contained in the decree. I hope "you will respect the orders of the senate and "Roman people."

They were respected, and even with circum-

ſtances which bordered on meanneſs. Antiochus ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to make a humble declaration of his obedience to the republic. "Egypt," ſaid they in his name, "was ready to "acknowledge me as its ſovereign. You have "forbidden it; and I obey your orders as I do "thoſe of the immortal gods." Popilius and the other ambaſſadors were conducted by him in great pomp to his Aſiatic ſtates. He paid them every honour which the moſt abject flattery can imagine. Wherever they appeared they were ſole ſovereigns, and he reſigned to them his palace without reſiding in it himſelf.

Exceſſive deference generally, and with great reaſon, excites diſtruſt. The Romans learned that Antiochus was preparing an armament. Tiberius Gracchus, ſent by the ſenate to viſit the kings, republics, and free cities of Greece, thought it neceſſary to proceed to Antioch to examine into the conduct of a prince whoſe power might become formidable. The king of Syria, on his part, thought proper to amuſe the Romans by entertainments. This ſhewed that he was little acquainted with the ſevere character of Gracchus. Antiochus ſent for the moſt celebrated actors, with the beſt workmen of Europe and Aſia, gave ſpectacles and feaſts, and invited an innumerable crowd to be preſent at them; but what diſgraced him in the eyes of the leaſt delicate, was performing a part himſelf in a theatrical piece, flattered

with the idea of making the people laugh by buffoonery and indecencies, which did violence to modeſty. The ambaſſador always appeared to be the object of his attention and adoration, and he did not know in what manner he could convince him of his extreme devotion. He even went ſo far as to offer to him his diadem; but Gracchus refuſed it with diſdain, and on his return to Rome ſaid, that after what he had ſeen he might aſſert, that no danger was to be apprehended from the king of Syria.

The principal ornaments exhibited at theſe entertainments, conſiſting of gold and ſilver plate, and valuable tiſſue, were the ſpoils taken from the Jews. Antiochus ſold to the higheſt bidder the dignity of high-prieſt, to which the ſovereign power was added. The purchaſer exacted from the people the ſum he had expended. This proved the cauſe of unavoidable ruin, and produced ſchiſm, diſſenſion, and wars, in which Antiochus took a ſhare to ſupport thoſe who purchaſed his protection. He became inflamed with the zeal of the ſchiſmatics, that murderous and deſtructive zeal which can with pleaſure ſee the objects of its veneration prophaned, provided it can give uneaſineſs and vexation to its adverſaries. He took Jeruſalem, put forty thouſand men to the ſword, and ſold forty thouſand more as ſlaves. Being introduced by the falſe high-prieſt Menelas, he penetrated to the ſanctuary called the holy of

holies, a place forbidden to every mortal; cauſed to be ſacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings a ſwine, an animal abhorred by the Jews, and ordered the temple to be ſprinkled with the water in which it had been boiled, in order to render it impure; carried away the altar of incenſe, the table of ſhew-bread, and the candleſtick with ſeven branches; and, to add to their misfortune, the conqueror eſtabliſhed as governor a Phrygian, named Philip, a ferocious and oppreſſive tyrant.

The ſeverities exerciſed againſt the Jews obliged them to take up arms. The Maccabees put themſelves at their head, and gained great advantages over Lyſias, a good general, in whom Antiochus placed great confidence. This prince had ſent him into Judea with an army, which he thought ſufficient for ſubduing the revolted Jews; but he was defeated. When Antiochus received this intelligence, he fell into a violent paſſion, and ſwore to exterminate this rebellious and obſtinate nation, and to annihilate the worſhip of the god whom they adored. He was marching with precipitation, or rather running to execute his deſign, when he found himſelf attacked with a ſevere pain in his bowels. The violence of his ſufferings did not, however, cool his ardour. Having ordered his horſes to be urged on with greater ſpeed, he was thrown from his chariot by the rapidity of the movement; and his fleſh was ſo bruiſed by the fall, that it dropped in pieces from his body. It

became filled alſo with worms, and emitted an infectious odour, which rendered him inſupportable to himſelf. While thus a prey to the moſt excruciating torture, he acknowledged the juſt puniſhment of God, and promiſed, if he ſhould recover his health, to repair the loſſes he had occaſioned to the Jews; to cauſe the ſacred veſſels to be carried back to the temple; and even to embrace the law of circumciſion. His repentance, however, was of no avail: the *vile perſon*, as he is called in the ſcriptures, died a warning to the audaciouſly wicked, who delay their repentance too long.

Demetrius Soter, 2836. Antiochus left an infant ſon, named Antiochus Eupator; but he had a nephew alſo, named Demetrius, who was an hoſtage at Rome. This young prince, when he heard of his uncle's death, aſked permiſſion to go and take poſſeſſion of the ſtates of his father Seleucus, which Antiochus had ſeized, when the nephew was exchanged for the uncle. He propoſed that his couſin Eupator ſhould come and aſſume his place as hoſtage, while he went to recover the throne which Antiochus left vacant by his death. The demand of the young prince was juſt, and he made it known in a full ſenate; but the conſcript fathers thought it would be more advantageous for the republic to keep Aſia under the power of a minor, than to commit it into the hands of a young, active, and hot-headed prince, who would become acquainted

with his own forces, and might be tempted to employ them. They refuſed, therefore, to comply with the requeſt of Demetrius; and at the ſame time declared that they took Eupator under their protection, and would become his guardians. They appointed three men of great experience to diſcharge that office, under their inſpection. The ſenate did not confine itſelf to the policy of maintaining an infant on the throne; it recommended to the tutors to govern the kingdom in ſuch a manner as might be moſt proper to weaken it; and deſired them to burn all the ſhips, and to hamſtring the elephants.

Octavius, the firſt of the three tutors, immediately ſet out, and proceeded through Cappadocia. When he arrived in that country, Ariarthes, the ſovereign of it, was much aſtoniſhed to ſee him without troops or guards; and preparing, without any precaution, to enter Aſia, in order to take upon him the government of a people who had not invited him, eſpecially as he knew that the young monarch had already a tutor, named Lyſias, a man of ability and cunning, who was not very ſcrupulous in his principles, and whom he certainly would not find much diſpoſed to ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of his employment. Ariarthes offered to Octavius to accompany him, at the head of an army, the command of which he would reſign to him; and he begged him, at leaſt, to accept of an eſcort. But what eſcort, in the opinion of the

haughty republican, was equivalent to the name of Rome? He refuſed the offer, and entered Syria with no other attendants than thoſe who uſed to follow him in Italy. Without ſo much as deigning to inform the regent of his arrival, he proceeded ſtraight forwards to Laodicea; cauſed the ſhips to be burnt in his preſence, and the elephants to be rendered unfit for ſervice. The people being incenſed at this arbitrary proceeding, an aſſaſſin, employed by Lyſias, taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, put Octavius to death. The conduct of the latter had been imprudent; but in republics, enthuſiaſts are neceſſary. He was canonized at Rome; and a ſtatue was erected to his memory, among thoſe of the great men who had ſhed their blood for their country.

Demetrius imagined that this murder would irritate the ſenate, and that he ſhould eaſily obtain permiſſion to go and dethrone the pupil of Lyſias, who was known to be the author of the aſſaſſination. He aſked leave, therefore, a ſecond time, contrary to the ſentiments of Polybius, the hiſtorian, one of the greateſt politicians of his time, who ſaid to the prince: "Take my advice, and "do not twice ſtumble againſt the ſame ſtone. "Have you but one way of getting into Syria? "Should a man of your age depend on the will "of a ſenate, compoſed of unjuſt and ambitious "men? Only dare to break your chains, and you "will of courſe reign." As Polybius had fore-

ſeen, Demetrius met with a refuſal. He then took meaſures to eſcape; and the evening before his departure gave a grand entertainment to ſome young men, who were his uſual companions. This was a kind of farewel which he meant to bid them, without informing them of his ſecret. Polybius fearing that the young prince would ſuffer himſelf to be hurried away by pleaſure, to which he was much inclined, and that he might loſe the opportunity of executing his deſign, ſent him a letter, conſiſting entirely of ancient maxims, reſpecting the courage, ſecrecy, and ſobriety, neceſſary for the accompliſhment of great enterprizes. This letter, even if it had fallen into the hands of an enemy, could not have expoſed its author to any danger. Demetrius, who comprehended the meaning of it, feigned ſudden illneſs; quitted the entertainment, and ſet out. When he arrived at a place of ſafety, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, filled with excuſes, thanks, and promiſes. The ſenate pretended great indifference in regard to this event, and ſuffered the rivals to attack each other; the conteſt, however, was not of long duration. By means of a report, which Demetrius ſpread, that he had been ſent by the Romans, the people eſpouſed his cauſe; and he ſoon got rid of Lyſias and his young pupil, who were both maſſacred. He then aſcended the throne, and was acknowledged king by the Romans.

It is remarked, in the life of Demetrius Soter,

that he favoured an impoſture, and was himſelf a victim to one. Ariarthes king of Cappadocia had married Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great. This princeſs, who was ſcarcely advanced beyond the age of childhood at the time of her marriage, remained ſeveral years without having a child. She was ſuppoſed therefore to be barren; and as ſhe apprehended that this fault might deprive her of the love of her huſband and his ſubjects, ſhe twice pretended to be pregnant, and had the addreſs to give the king two ſuppoſititious ſons; but ſhe afterwards became really pregnant, and brought forth ſucceſſively two daughters and a ſon. As ſhe then declared, and proved to her huſband, that the two other children were ſuppoſititious, he cauſed them to be ſent out of the kingdom, with a ſufficient penſion for their maintenance. The eldeſt, named Ariarthes, went to Rome, and being deſtitute of talents or courage, ſeemed to be little affected by his misfortune. On the ſecond, named Holophernes, who was active and enterprizing, it made a greater impreſſion. He was ſent to Ionia, and forbidden ever to ſet a foot in Cappadocia.

On the death of Ariarthes, the real ſon, named alſo Ariarthes, ſucceeded his father without any oppoſition. Demetrius offered him in marriage his ſiſter Laodice, the widow of Perſes king of Macedonia, who had been treated with ſo much indignity by the Romans. As this alliance diſ-

pleaſed the king of Cappadocia, he proteſted againſt it; and his refuſal gave offence to that of Syria. The latter liſtened to the pretenſions of Holophernes; encouraged them, and placed him on the throne of Cappadocia. Ariarthes having attacked Holophernes, recovered his crown, and obliged him to take refuge at the court of his benefactor. Demetrius being freed from all care, began to abandon himſelf, in obſcure retreats, to a diſſolute life, which expoſed him to the contempt of his people. Holophernes obſerving them in this diſpoſition, conceived a deſign of mounting the throne of Syria, thus diſgraced by a profligate ſovereign. He accordingly formed a conſpiracy, which was to be ſeconded by Attalus king of Pergamus, and Ptolemy king of Egypt. It was, however, diſcovered; and Demetrius this time eſcaped the danger to which he had been expoſed by his declaration in favour of an impoſtor. But he prepared for himſelf another, the conſequence alſo of an impoſture, which he was not able to avoid.

The kings of Pergamus and Egypt both continued his enemies, and that of Cappadocia naturally united himſelf to them. While they were exerting themſelves with the utmoſt ardour to find out ſome method of haraſſing him, they met with a man, named Heraclides, who had to avenge the death of a brother, and his own baniſhment. His brother, Timarchus, had been governor of Baby-

lon, when Demetrius aſcended the throne; and he himſelf was treaſurer of the province. Both of them were much reſpected by Antiochus Epiphanes, and conſequently attached to Eupator, his young ſon. Owing either to this attachment, or to their being accuſed of extortion by the people, Demetrius cauſed the governor to be beheaded, and the treaſurer to be baniſhed. The latter retired to Rhodes; and as he was acquainted with the ſecrets, as well as the manners and cuſtoms of the court of Syria, he ſought for a young man qualified by his talents and figure to act properly the part which he intended him to perform. Having met with one Balas, who ſeemed ſuited for his purpoſe, he gave him the neceſſary inſtruction, and made him aſſume the name of Alexander. They then gained over Laodice, the real daughter of Epiphanes, who acknowledged him as her brother; and truſting to the ſupport of the three kings, who were acquainted with, and favoured the project, Heraclides carried his diſciple to Rome, and preſented him to the ſenate.

The graveſt characters ſometimes condeſcend to act the moſt ridiculous farces, and often ſuffer themſelves to become the dupes of impoſture. Heraclides reminded the conſcript fathers of their alliance with Antiochus; their ſuſpicions of Demetrius, and their repugnance to open the way for him to the throne: "Yet you were ignorant," ſaid he, "that Antiochus Epiphanes left any other

" children but Eupator, who was cruelly aſſaſſi-
" nated, and that one of his children is ſtill alive."
Then turning to Balas: "Be not afraid," added
he, "illuſtrious deſcendant of one of the firſt
" kings of Syria. I have drawn you from the
" miſery in which you was buried, to conduct
" you to the foot of the moſt powerful and moſt
" equitable of tribunals. Speak for yourſelf, and
" be perſuaded that a cauſe ſo juſt as yours muſt
" be approved and ſupported by the auguſt aſſem-
" bly which hears you." The ſpeech of Balas alluded chiefly to the attachment of his father, the future gratitude of the ſon, and the unalterable union which would be eſtabliſhed between Rome and Syria.

Though the ſenate had pretended to be indifferent in regard to the eſcape of Demetrius, it ſtill retained a ſecret diſpleaſure on that account; and it was beſides of importance for the republic, that the ſeeds of diſcord ſhould be ſown in diſtant countries, in order that they might ſolicit its aſſiſtance. To the great aſtoniſhment of the whole city, who were convinced of the impoſture of Balas, the ſenate paſſed the following decree: "The ſenate and Roman people having heard the
" demand of Alexander and Laodice, the children
" of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, the
" friend and ally of the republic, permit the ſon
" to proſecute the right given to him by his birth;
" and we recommend to our allies to aſſiſt him in

" this enterprize." The laſt clauſe authorized Balas to collect troops; and immediately excited againſt Demetrius a multitude of enemies, among whom was Jonathan, chief of the Jews, then in alliance with the Romans, whoſe prudence and valour added great ſtrength to the party of Balas. Demetrius, being well convinced of the ſuperiority of his rival, ſent his two ſons, Demetrius and Antiochus, for the ſake of ſafety, to the houſe of a friend who reſided in Cnidus, a city of Caria, and made preparations for a deciſive battle. His left wing penetrated that of the enemy oppoſed to it; and unfortunately advanced too far in the purſuit. The prince maintained, for a long time, the ſhock of the centre, and of the other wing of the enemy, hoping to ſee his own return. He was at laſt obliged to order a retreat, and remained behind his troops to cover them; but his horſe happening to plunge into a bog, he was abandoned by his ſoldiers, at the moment when ready to be ſurrounded by the enemy. He, however, combated alone, on foot, againſt the multitude, who preſſed upon him on all ſides, till being at length overpowered, he fell, covered with wounds, amidſt a ſhower of darts, arrows, and javelins, diſcharged at him from all quarters.

Alexander Balas, 2846.

Though the king of Egypt could not be ignorant that Balas was an impoſtor, he gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. To introduce a ſceptre into a family is an object of importance,

by whatever hand it may be borne. Proſperity made the vicious character of the new king diſplay itſelf in full force. He plunged into debauchery and indecency of every kind; and abandoned the reins of government to the caprices of a favourite, named Ammonius, a man of a gloomy and ferocious diſpoſition. The principal victims of the monarch and the miniſter were Laodice, the ſiſter of Demetrius, and Antigonus, one of the ſons of that prince, who had remained in Syria, at the time when the other two had been conducted to Cnidus. Other acts of violence, exerciſed againſt people of all ranks, rendered their government odious. Demetrius, the eldeſt of the children who had fled, was informed, in his retreat, that the people were diſcontented; and Laſthenes, his hoſt, having procured for him ſome companies of Cretans, he entered Cilicia at their head. His troops ſoon increaſed, and the province ſubmitted to his authority. Apollonius, the governor of Phenicia and Cæleſyria, embraced his party; and this man rendered him great ſervices, by gaining over Jonathan, the chief of the Jews, who was haſtening to the aſſiſtance of Alexander Balas.

This prince finding himſelf hard preſſed called in Ptolemy, his father-in-law, who arrived, having under his ſtandards an immenſe crowd, whom the prophet compares to the ſand on the ſea-ſhore. It might have been believed that he was going to protect Balas; but he carried away his daughter

from him, and gave her to Demetrius. This exchange, it is said, was meant as a punishment, for a conspiracy of the son-in-law against the father-in-law. But whatever may have been the cause of this event, the consequences were exceedingly fatal to Balas. The inhabitants of Antioch, being emboldened, tore to pieces Ammonius, whom they found concealed under a female dress. His master, the king, experienced a fate not much better. Having lost a battle, he fled as far as he could, and endeavoured to find shelter under the tent of an Arab, a nation commonly hospitable; but he was put to death.

Demetrius Nicanor.

The king of Egypt found it very difficult to make the inhabitants of Antioch consent to have Demetrius for king, as they were afraid of finding in him the vices of his father; and particularly indolence in government, and abuse of authority. Their apprehensions indeed were too well founded. The new king left all the power to Lasthenes, the friend of his father-in-law, by whom he had been educated. The latter was both cruel and impolitic. Cruel, because he sought out all those who had been attached to Balas, and put them to death; and impolitic in disgusting the old soldiers who composed the ordinary guard of the kings, and reducing them to a few companies of Cretans, who could not be of much service. His want of address in bringing upon himself the hatred and contempt of the people, and his imprudence in de-

priving himſelf of his beſt defenſe, inſpired a reſolute man with a deſign of dethroning Demetrius.

This man, named Diodotus, and afterwards furnamed Tryphon, was of ordinary birth. Balas had made him governor of Antioch; and though it is not known whether he enjoyed that place under his ſucceſſor, there is reaſon to think, that, on account of his ability, he was not included by Laſthenes among the number of thoſe diſgraced. It is, on the contrary, probable that he gained the confidence of the miniſter, who ſhut his eyes againſt a piratical kind of commerce which he carried on. This commerce conſiſted in keeping veſſels to cruiſe along the coaſts of Aſia, where they procured ſlaves, which Diodotus ſold at a great price to the Romans who at that time were fond of being attended by a great number of domeſtics. By this traffic Diodotus acquired great riches; and he carried his confidence of impunity ſo far, as to build in the neighbourhood of Antioch a kind of fortreſs in which he ſhut up his treaſures. It appears indeed that this gave no umbrage either to the king or his miniſter; for neither of them was arouſed from his torpor till Diodotus openly ſhewed his deſigns.

Balas had left a ſon, ſtill an infant, born to him by his wife Cleopatra. Tryphon ſuddenly appeared with this young Antiochus, and publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the claims of the young

prince, to whom he declared himſelf tutor. On this intelligence all the ſoldiers, whom Demetrius had diſcharged without any reaſon, and a number of other mal-contents, joined the pretender. Demetrius being ſurprized, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Seleucia. Diodotus then took poſſeſſion of Antioch, together with the elephants, which at that time formed the chief ſtrength of the Aſiatic armies, and the money in the treaſury, and cauſed his pupil to be proclaimed. He found means alſo to bring over to his party Jonathan, the Jewiſh chief, who had been before attached to Balas; and who, without doubt, conſidered himſelf obliged to follow the ſtandards of his ſon; but he was ill rewarded for his fidelity.

It may readily be preſumed, that Tryphon did not give himſelf ſo much trouble to preſerve the crown on the head of an infant. He wiſhed to place it on his own; and when he ſaw the greater part of Syria ſubject to his obedience, he got rid at the ſame time of his pupil, and of Jonathan, whom he knew to be attached to the family of Balas. As the young prince was attacked with the ſtone, nothing was neceſſary but to give orders that the operation of cutting, to which he was obliged to ſubmit, ſhould be badly performed. He accordingly died; and Tryphon aſſumed the diadem. Frequent battles took place between him and Demetrius, and hoſtilities were ſuſpended only by a ſtrange reſolution of the latter. Being

ſolicited by the inhabitants of the country, ſituated between the Indus and the Euphrates, who were continually expoſed to the incurſions of the Parthians, he determined to make war on theſe people, under a perſuaſion that if he returned conqueror he would eaſily recover from Diodotus the reſt of his empire. At firſt he had great ſucceſs; but the Parthians laid an ambuſcade for him, and took him priſoner. Their king, Mithridates, after carrying him about as a captive through the diſputed provinces, to detach them from a king who was in a ſtate of ſlavery, treated him with every kind of reſpect; aſſigned to him Hyrcania as a place of reſidence, with a revenue ſuited to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage, but ſtill kept him in a ſort of confinement.

On hearing of his impriſonment, his ſpouſe Cleopatra had retired to Seleucia with two children whom ſhe had born to him; but fearing that ſhe might be beſieged there by Tryphon, ſhe wrote to Antiochus, the youngeſt brother of Demetrius, to come to her aſſiſtance, and offered him the crown, and her hand. She was, no doubt, induced to make the latter propoſal by the knowledge ſhe had of the marriage of Rhodogune. Antiochus, who has been called Sidetes, or the Hunter, accepted her invitation, married her, and having mounted the throne, defeated Tryphon, and routed his army. In flying he ſcattered money, it is

ſaid, behind him, in order to ſtop thoſe by whom he was purſued. The accounts given of his death are various. Some ſay that he was either killed during an aſſault, or taken and condemned to death by Antiochus; others, that he pierced himſelf with his own ſword; and ſome that he threw himſelf into the flames which conſumed the city of Orthoſia, in which he was beſieged.

Antiochus Sidetes.

Sidetes governed with juſtice and mildneſs, and acquired in an uncommon degree the love and eſteem of his ſubjects. He had only one fault; that is, an immoderate paſſion for the chaſe. He was one day reproached on this account by a poor peaſant, whoſe cottage afforded him ſhelter after he had loſt his way in purſuing ſome wild animals. As the man did not know him, Antiochus, in the courſe of their converſation, introduced ſome queſtions reſpecting the king. "He is a good "prince," replied the ruſtic, "but his too vio-"lent paſſion for the chaſe prevents him from "giving proper application to the buſineſs of the "ſtate, and obliges him to truſt to courtiers, who "act only according to their own views." On this occaſion Plutarch exclaims: "O kings, do "not hope to hear a word of truth, or to know "what your ſubjects think of you, as long as you "are ſurrounded by courtiers, whoſe principal "occupation is to deceive you, and to perſuade "you that thoſe whom you govern are always "contented."

This prince might have lived happy, and reigned with glory, had it not been for his desire of recovering the provinces wrested from him by the Parthians. He gave out, as a pretence for the war, that he meant to deliver his brother from captivity, as if people would readily believe that he was anxious to break the chains of a monarch whose wife and kingdom he possessed. It may be judged by his preparations, that if he loved ease he did not refuse it to others. He suffered his camp to be encumbered with all the appendages of luxury—suttlers, cooks, comedians, musicians, women, children, and their attendants; so that the army, which contained nearly eighty thousand combattants, consisted of more than three hundred thousand persons. Every thing went on well while they had to march under a summer's sky through the beautiful plains of Media and Babylon. Antiochus gained three battles; but when the period arrived of going into winter quarters, the necessity of lodging all these people made him divide his army into small bodies. The Parthians, ever active and vigilant, stole imperceptibly into the intervals; while the inhabitants, tired of these troublesome guests, concerted with the enemy a general massacre; and in one day all the Syrians were butchered, or loaded with irons, and Antiochus perished along with them, to the deep regret of all his subjects.

The defeats which the king of the Parthians

had ſuſtained made him reſolve to releaſe Demetrius, that he might endeavour to effect a diverſion by the co-operation of the two brothers; but immediately after the cataſtrophe of Sidetes he ſent in purſuit of his priſoner, who, fearing this change, had haſtened his departure. The cavalry diſpatched for that purpoſe not being able to overtake him, he returned to his own kingdom, and unfortunately found there his wife Cleopatra. A captivity of nine years, occaſioned by his having involved himſelf imprudently in a foreign war, had not rendered him wiſer. He interfered in a quarrel between Ptolemy Phyſcon king of Egypt, and his ſpouſe Cleopatra, whom he had divorced. The latter having propoſed the throne and her hand to Demetrius, he was tempted by the offer, and invaded Egypt. While beſieging Peluſium, the inhabitants of Antioch, Apamea, and ſeveral other cities, irritated on account of his tyrannical government, revolted, and received with every teſtimony of joy a pretended ſon of Alexander Balas, ſent to them by the king of Egypt. This impoſtor, named Zebina, was the ſon of a broker of Alexandria. The people were ſo much diſpleaſed with Demetrius, that Zebina ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army; and the king, being defeated, and forced to fly, thought he ſhould find an aſylum in Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra reſided; but ſhe cauſed the gates to be ſhut againſt the huſband of Rhodogune.

He then took ſhelter in Tyre, where he was put to death by the governor, whom he had himſelf eſtabliſhed in that city.

The kingdom of Syria, after this event, was divided between Zebina and Cleopatra. Seleucus, whom the latter had born to Demetrius Nicanor, aſſumed the title of king in the provinces next to thoſe governed by his mother. Through a dread that this prince might take it into his head to extend his dominions, and perhaps to avenge the death of his father, of which ſhe was not entirely innocent, Cleopatra invited her ſon to come and confer with her on an affair of importance; and at a moment when he leaſt expected it, ſhe plunged a poniard into his boſom. This Megara then ſent for another of her ſons, whoſe age made her hope that he would be a long time on the throne, without entertaining any idea of taking the reins of government into his own hands. He was named Antiochus, and got the ſurname of Grypus in alluſion to his aquiline noſe. Syria while partitioned between Cleopatra and Zebina was pretty quiet.

Zebina. Zebina was mild, merciful, and juſt; and inſpired confidence by his fidelity in performing his promiſes. Three of his principal officers having revolted, he employed no other means to bring them back to their duty than the hope which he held forth to them of obtaining pardon, and even of recovering their offices. They

laid down their arms without aſking any further ſecurity than his bare word. After this ſubmiſſion he lived with them on the ſame terms as before; and never threw out the leaſt reproach againſt them for their conduct. Though of low birth, he poſſeſſed great magnanimity. He never would ſubject his kingdom to the payment of tribute, nor even to ſimple homage, which the king of Egypt demanded. From being a benefactor, the Egyptian monarch became his perſecutor. He excited Grypus to take up arms againſt him; and as a pledge of his vengeance, gave to the king of Syria his daughter Tryphœna in marriage. Zebina, hard preſſed on two ſides, was unable to withſtand his opponents. Having loſt a battle, he went on board a veſſel, in order to fly to Greece; but he was taken on his paſſage by a pirate, who delivered him up to Grypus, by whom he was put to death. Some pretend that he was killed in battle, but whatever may have been his fate, hiſtorians agree in ſaying that he was univerſally regretted. He may be claſſed among the number of thoſe few who by their uſurpation neither made themſelves formidable, contemptible, nor hated.

Cleopatra. The war againſt Zebina freed Grypus, in ſome meaſure, from the tutorſhip of his mother. Cleopatra being offended that he ſhould attempt to ſhake off her authority, reſolved to transfer the ſceptre to a third ſon, whom ſhe had born to

Antiochus Sidetes. As this young prince was an infant, ſhe had reaſon to hope that his feeble hands would long ſuffer her to have the management of them. She reſolved, therefore, to get rid of Antiochus; and with this view, having prepared a poiſonous draught, ſhe offered it to him one day as he returned hot and fatigued from ſome exerciſe. The prince, it is ſaid, who had been forewarned of her deſign, pretending to reſpect his mother, deſired her to drink firſt; but as ſhe excuſed herſelf, he inſiſted, and declared before the whole court, that there was no other means by which ſhe could be freed from the ſuſpicion entertained of her having an intention to poiſon him. Cleopatra, finding no evaſion, ſwallowed the poiſon and expired. She had been the wife of three kings, and the mother of four. She occaſioned the death of two of theſe huſbands; killed one of her children with her own hand, and attempted to poiſon the other. Few of the human race have been found ſo worthleſs.

Antiochus Grypus.

During eight years the reign of Grypus was attended with a conſiderable degree of tranquillity. To ſecure this advantage, like a ſon worthy of Cleopatra, he endeavoured to poiſon one of his brothers ſurnamed Cyzicenus, the ſon of Antiochus Sidetes. The prince, finding his life threatened, put himſelf in a ſtate of defenſe; and a lucky chance furniſhed him with unexpected

assistance. Lathyrus, the son of Physcon king of Egypt, had married his sister Cleopatra; and though that prince entertained a tender affection for his spouse, he was obliged by his mother to divorce her, and to marry his youngest sister Selene. Both of them were the sisters of Tryphœna the wife of Grypus. The divorced princess finding herself free, offered her hand to Cyzicenus, and instead of a dowry brought him an army. Cyzicenus was defeated, and made his escape; but his wife fell into the hands of Grypus. Her sister Tryphœna requested that her husband would deliver his prisoner into her hands, that she might have the pleasure of putting her to death; but the king, disgusted by this request, accused his wife of cruelty, and declared that he would never comply with any demand of the like kind. Tryphœna imagined that she could see in this firmness of her husband the certain proof of an amour which she already suspected. Her unfortunate sister had taken shelter in one of the temples of Antioch, and while her husband was endeavouring to moderate her fury, she sent thither assassins, who not being able to drag Cleopatra from the altar which she embraced, cut off her hands. They then dispatched her while imploring the god whose temple they prophaned, and uttering curses against the authors of so barbarous a murder.

It would appear that these execrations brought upon the unfortunate family of the Seleucidæ all

the ſcourges of divine vengeance, as their hiſtory after this period is nothing but a diſguſting tiſſue of the moſt horrid crimes—poiſoning, aſſaſſination, inceſt, and fratricide. Five ſons of Grypus reigned in ſucceſſion, and periſhed by violent deaths. Cyzicenus expired in the flames a victim of ſedition. The kingdom being afterwards divided, one part conſidered Antioch, and another Damaſcus, as its capital; ſome cities erected themſelves into republics, and others ſubmitted to the power of one ruler called a tyrant. The wives and ſiſters of the monarchs uſurped power, and formed principalities, which were transferred by marriages. Two of them are ſuſpected of having married their own ſons. At length irregularity and confuſion were carried to ſuch extent, that the Syrians themſelves, a people the leaſt delicate perhaps of any in their manners, became tired of them. They expelled, therefore, all theſe kings who were engaged in bloody conteſts with each other, and called in to govern them Tigranes king of Armenia.

The Romans, though often applied to by the competitors, had been extremely cautious not to afford to any party ſuch aſſiſtance as would give it a preponderance. They received embaſſies, accepted preſents, and ſuffered them to ruin each other; but the moment for reaping the fruits of their policy at length arrived. Tigranes was conquered by Pompey. When the Armenian re-

ceived from the people the ſceptre of Syria, Selene, the widow of Grypus, had formed a ſmall ſtate, where ſhe educated two ſons whom ſhe had born to Antiochus Cyzicenus. The eldeſt was named Antiochus the Aſiatic, and the other Seleucus Cybioſactes. Tigranes diſperſed this family, and having taken the mother put her to death. The two ſons, though ill able to cope with ſo powerful a prince, maintained themſelves the beſt way they could, ſometimes in one part of the kingdom, and ſometimes in another, flattering themſelves with the hopes of obtaining the friendſhip of the Roman republic by means of the preſents which they laviſhed on the ſenators during their viſits to Rome. But when Aſiaticus explained to Pompey his pretenſions and his hopes, after ſome pretty ſevere reproaches reſpecting the negligence which the Syrian prince had ſhewn in proſecuting his right, the Roman general ſaid: "The kingdom "of Syria belongs to Tigranes; we have con- "quered him, and conſequently his rights have "become ours. Thus the empire of Syria be- "longs to the Roman republic, which is better "able to defend it than you." By this deciſion the kingdom of Syria, ſo rich, ſo powerful, and one of the moſt beautiful gems in the crown of Alexander, became a Roman province. Of the two brothers, the laſt of the deſcendants of the Seleucidæ, Antiochus died in obſcurity, and Seleucus married Berenice queen of Egypt, his rela-

tion. This princeſs becoming diſguſted with her huſband, took the ſhorteſt way to get rid of him, and put him to death. The Syro-Median empire laſted two hundred and ſixty-three years, during which time it had been expoſed to continual agitation. It would appear that the centre of Aſia, the richeſt and moſt beautiful part of that vaſt country, which is itſelf the richeſt of the four quarters of the world, has been deſtined to perpetual revolutions. Ninus, Semiramis, and their ſucceſſors, carried their bloody ſtandards over the plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. Theſe conquerors gave birth to the monarchy of the Aſſyrians, which was loſt in that of the Medes and Perſians. The impetuous Alexander conquered and diſperſed all thoſe who came in his way; and before he had conſolidated his empire, left it to his generals. In conſequence of their deſtroying each other, one only remained maſter of the kingdoms of Aſia. His deſcendants, known under the name of the Seleucidæ, deſtroyed each other alſo. By diſcord their empire was abandoned to the Romans, who reaped the fruits of it, and governed it by prætors, proconſuls, and generals, till the moment when, without being the centre of the empire of the eaſt, it became the richeſt part, and afterwards tributary and ſubject to the Ottomans, who have it ſtill in their poſſeſſion.

Egypt.

Ptolemy Lagus, 2698.

At the time of Alexander's death, Ptolemy Lagus was governor of Egypt. His mother Arſinoe, it is ſaid, was pregnant when Philip king of Macedonia, to whom ſhe was concubine, gave her in marriage to Lagus a Macedonian nobleman. Being unwilling to educate in his houſe a child of which he was not the father, Lagus cauſed the one of which his wife was delivered to be expoſed. The infant was taken care of by an eagle, which covered it with its wings, and inſtead of milk fed it with the blood of the animals it caught. This prodigy, invented no doubt to move the heart of Lagus, induced him to ſend for the child, and to give it education. It appears, therefore, that young Lagus muſt have been brother to Alexander; and indeed he always ſhewed great attachment to him. The conqueror honoured him with particular marks of friendſhip; he raiſed him to the firſt poſts in the army, which he merited alſo by his bravery, and entruſted him with the important government of Egypt. Finding himſelf at the death of the monarch of Aſia at a diſtance from the centre of intrigues, he took advantage of his ſituation, and of the fortunate circumſtances of the moment, to ſtep from the ſecond to the firſt place, and to maintain himſelf in his new dignity. Ptolemy Lagus was the chief of the Macedonian dynaſty that reigned in Egypt; and

he inſtituted in honour of his brother a military order, the firſt with which we are acquainted.

Ptolemy is ſaid to have declared, that he never undertook any wars but ſuch as were neceſſary, and which could not be avoided. Some of the ancient kings, his predeceſſors, by their monuments ſeemed to wiſh rather to excite the admiration of the people than to promote their advantage; but his, while they diſplayed magnificence, were attended with utility. Among the chief of them is reckoned the city of Alexandria, on the border of the ſea, in a ſituation proper for uniting within its walls the commerce of three parts of the world. Alexander had built it with that intention; and Ptolemy, by increaſing its population, its riches, and the magnificence of its buildings, rendered it the city of cities, the queen of the eaſt. He conſtructed there the famous pharos, which became the model of ſo many others. It was a white marble tower of a prodigious height, on the ſummit of which fires were kindled to direct mariners during the obſcurity of the night. He cauſed the following inſcription to be placed upon it: "Ptolemy to the protecting gods, for the good of "thoſe who frequent the ſea." But the architect who wiſhed to perpetuate his own name, applied theſe words only on the outer coating. This coating decayed in the courſe of time, and as long as the pharos exiſted the following were read: "Soſtratus, the Cnidian, to the protecting gods,

" for the benefit of thoſe who frequent the " ſea."

Ptolemy employed great care in forming the famous library of Alexandria, which he increaſed to the number of four hundred thouſand volumes; and he placed it in a ſuperb edifice, under the inſpection of ſeveral men of learning, who lodged together in a palace ornamented with gardens and porticoes, where thoſe fond of literature found at all ſeaſons both amuſement and inſtruction. It appears that they lived in common at the expenſe of the public, by which they were liberally ſupported. They ate at the ſame table, and were ſupplied with every thing in ſuch abundance, as to excite the jealouſy and raillery of thoſe who were not admitted to participate with them. This was a remarkable inſtitution, and we may therefore ſay, that we are indebted to Ptolemy for military orders, and ſocieties of learned men. This library, though ſo numerous, had a ſupplement called its daughter. The mother was conſumed by accident, and the daughter was committed to the flames by the fanaticiſm of Omar. After he had taken Alexandria he was intreated to ſave the library, but he replied: "That if theſe books con- " tained the ſame doctrine as the Koran, they " were uſeleſs; and if they contained what was " contrary to it, they were dangerous." In conſequence of this reaſoning, he cauſed them to be diſtributed among the baths, where for the ſpace

of six months they served to supply the fires of those public places, which were exceedingly numerous at Alexandria.

Besides the surname of Lagus, that of Soter, or Saviour, was given to Ptolemy by the Rhodians, out of gratitude for his having saved them from the fury of Demetrius Poliorcetes. His own subjects might have given him epithets no less honourable, had they wished to express all his noble qualities. He was mild, beneficent, and easy of access. He was desirous that the meanest person should be suffered to approach him. "They are "my friends," said he, "they tell me truths "which my courtiers conceal from me." This prince shewed uncommon moderation in his raillery, and particularly for a crowned head. A grammarian whom he had one day rallied, having returned a severe answer, all those present trembled for the unhappy man, and expected that the king would inflict upon him some signal punishment. But Ptolemy said: "A king who knows his own "dignity ought never to behave to others in such "a manner as to make them be wanting in re- "spect. I am the aggressor, he has as much "right to be offended with my question as I "have to be with his answer; and, therefore, we "are on an equal footing." He was fond of inviting his subjects to his table; and if at any time he wanted a sufficiency of plate, he borrowed from them: thus uniting economy with pleasure; the

enjoyment of which is more complete when it is not attended with the remorſe of extravagance.

Ptolemy, during the forty years that he reigned, made almoſt an entire change in the whole face of Egypt. It had been loaded by the ancient kings with coloſſal ſtatues, and gigantic monuments. Theſe maſſes had been deſtroyed and broken to pieces by the arms of the ſoldiers, much rather than the hand of time; their remains covered cities, choked up the canals, and for cultivated fields ſubſtituted rubbiſh. Ptolemy cauſed cities to emerge from theſe ruins; rendered the canals again navigable; reſtored the fields to agriculture; and in his buildings united the Grecian delicacy to the Egyptian ſolidity. By his care the ports on the Red ſea were opened, and thoſe of the Mediterranean became more ſecure. He rendered the Delta, that beautiful part of his empire which he inhabited, the centre of commerce; and left in a very flouriſhing ſtate a kingdom which he had found laid waſte by the ſtorms of long anarchy.

Names and qualities.

His ſucceſſors, named like him almoſt all Ptolemies, were diſtinguiſhed by ſurnames which expreſſed their virtues or vices, and even their natural defects: Philadelphus, the lover of his brothers; Euergetes, benefactor; Philopator, lover of his father; Epiphanes, the illuſtrious; Philometor, the lover of his mother; Phyſcon, the big-bellied; Lathyrus, the chick-pea; Auletes, the flute-player. Their ſpouſes, who according to the

uſage of the country were for the moſt part their ſiſters, were called Arſinoe, Berenice, and Cleopatra. It might be imagined that theſe alliances, perpetuated in the family from race to race, would have been a permanent pledge of friendſhip and concord; but they on the contrary produced hatred, which not only ſtained the throne with blood, but occaſioned the miſery of the people, who were involved by their princes in frequent civil wars. There were alſo foreign wars of which we ſhall here give a ſhort ſketch; crimes, and virtues; ſplendid actions; ſome of thoſe political events which change the fate of nations; and particular cataſtrophes, which hiſtory might preſent either to the pencil of the painter, or the imagination of the poet.

Philadelphus, 2728.

Ptolemy Soter aſſociated with him on the throne, two years before he died, his ſecond ſon Philadelphus, to the prejudice of Ceraunus the eldeſt. It would appear, when we conſider the bad qualities of the latter, that this conduct of the father did not ariſe ſo much from predilection as from prudent foreſight. Ceraunus took ſhelter in Macedonia with king Seleucus, by whom he was favourably received, and whom he aſſaſſinated. After this murder he married Arſinoe the widow, who was his own ſiſter, and who had in her poſſeſſion the capital of the kingdom. To obtain her hand, he promiſed, as we have ſeen, to watch over her children with paternal care; but he butchered

them on the very day of his marriage, and almoſt in his arms. Arſinoe was once more rendered a widow by the indignation of the people. It is not known whether ſhe waited for theſe events before ſhe married her brother Philadelphus, with whom ſhe ſought refuge after ſhe had torn herſelf from the arms of Ceraunus. She was much older than Philadelphus, yet ſhe acquired, and preſerved till the laſt moment, complete empire over his mind.

Govern-ment. Soter, the ſon, diſplayed in a great meaſure the virtues of his father. He is celebrated for his ability in the art of governing. He regulated with juſt proportion the taxes, and his own donations. Being always in arms, though he made little uſe of them, he overawed his neighbours, among whom he acted as mediator and arbiter. He extended navigation, cauſed commerce to flouriſh, and attracted foreigners to his ſtates by the privileges which he thought proper to grant them. Alexandria contained a great number of Jews, who by being long ſettled there had forgot their original language. To render their reſidence in Egypt more agreeable, and to make them if poſſible forget Judea, he cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into Greek, and this is what is called the verſion of the ſeventy.

Sciences. Philadelphus protected the ſciences, as well as thoſe by whom they were cultivated, and for this reaſon men of ſcience were extremely numerous at his court: Aratus commiſſioned to enlarge the

library of Alexandria, Ariſtophanes, who had read all the books in it; Theocritus, Lycophron, and five other commentators, named the ſeven pleiades; Ariſtarchus, a ſevere grammarian; Manetho, an hiſtorian; Conon and Hipparchus, mathematicians; Zenodotus, the firſt commentator of Homer; and two men who ſcarcely deſerve to be inſcribed in this liſt, Sotades, an obſcene poet, and Zoilus, a ſatyriſt, whoſe name has become a term of reproach. Philadelphus, who amuſed himſelf ſometimes with the malicious diſpoſition of the laſt, ſhewed him neither reſpect nor eſteem. One of theſe two poets died of poverty, and the other by violence, loaded with the hatred and contempt of the public. Philadelphus is reproached on account of his having never pardoned Demetrius Phalereus; becauſe he adviſed his father to place his eldeſt ſon Ceraunus on the throne, and not to grant to the youngeſt a preference which Demetrius thought unjuſt. Though illuſtrious by his learning, and though he had been the miniſter and the confidant of Soter, theſe conſiderations were of no avail with Philadelphus. He confined the imprudent counſellor in a fortreſs; and he was juſt going to condemn him to death, when an aſp, which ſtung the miniſter, ſaved the monarch from the commiſſion of a crime.

His foreſight gave him ſome idea of the future grandeur of the Romans, to whom he ſent ambaſſadors, and from them he received others in Romans.

return. The latter were Quintus Fabius Gurges, Quintus Ogulinus, and Cneius Fabius Pictor. The remembrance of their noble and judicious conduct deſerves to be preſerved. At the end of a ſplendid repaſt the king offered to each of them a golden crown, which they accepted; but next morning they were ſeen placed on the ſtatues of the monarch, which were erected in different public places. This diſintereſtedneſs, and delicate manner of ſhewing their reſpect for the ſovereign of Egypt, gave the Egyptians a high idea of the Romans. Philadelphus loaded them with preſents, which he inſiſted they ſhould carry with them; but when they arrived at Rome they depoſited them in the treaſury of the republic. The policy of the Egyptian made him always obſerve ſtrict neutrality between the Romans and the Carthaginians. The latter having aſked money from him to carry on the war againſt the former, he replied: "I cannot aſſiſt one friend againſt another."

Prudent circumſpection is remarked, in general, in the government of Philadelphus. He will not, however, be commended for carrying his pacific precautions ſo far as to get rid of two of his brothers, who might have interrupted his peace. On account of this action he was ironically ſtyled Philadelphus, the lover of his brothers. One of them, named Magas, eſcaped from his cruel foreſight, by ſeizing, under the title of king, on Ly-

bia and Cyrenaica, of which he was governor; and with this diadem he braved the efforts and threats of his brother. Philadelphus is known as the founder of many cities. He erected a great number of monuments, ſo ſuperb, that works of extraordinary grandeur, and built in an exquiſite taſte, were called Philadelphian. He maintained conſiderable fleets in the Mediterranean, and in the Red ſea.

This prince conſtructed a canal which joined the Red ſea to the Nile, except a ſmall interval over which the carriage was performed by camels. By this canal the productions of Arabia, India, Perſia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed to Alexandria, which for ſeventeen centuries carried on the greateſt commerce of any city in the world; a commerce which it would be eaſy to reſtore to it. We are indebted alſo to this Ptolemy for the idea of keeping a coffin ſuſpended by a loadſtone from the roof of a temple. He intended to have tried this experiment at Alexandria in honour of Arſinoe, his beloved ſpouſe and ſiſter, but was prevented by death. This prince, who was far from being warlike, always kept on foot an army of two hundred thouſand infantry, forty thouſand cavalry, three hundred elephants, and two thouſand war chariots. He had alſo an arſenal containing arms for three hundred thouſand men; and a treaſury capable of ſupporting all theſe expenſes. His troops, it is ſaid, were badly diſci-

plined; and, like their king, abandoned in the boſom of the cities to eaſe and luxury. He enervated himſelf at an early period; and even while ſtill young, died of old age amidſt pleaſure.

Euergetes, 2785.

The reign of his ſon Euergetes began by a ſucceſsful war againſt Syria. He brought back with him a great many idols, which Cambyſes had taken from the Egyptians, and placed them again in their temples. By this act of religion he gained the friendſhip of the people, and got the ſurname of Euergetes the Benefactor. An inſcription ſtill preſerved, aſſigns to him with the ſovereignty of Egypt, that of Syria, Lybia, Phenicia, Cyprus, Illyria, Caria, and the Cyclades; and makes him to have ſubdued the provinces beyond the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Thrace, Meſopotamia, Perſia, and Media, as far as Bactriana. To theſe, ſome add the two ſhores of the Red ſea, and the provinces of Ethiopia. If this enumeration is correct, few monarchs have been ſo powerful. After this, ought we to be ſurpriſed that he ſhould have been expoſed to the arts of adulation?

Hair of Berenice.

His ſpouſe Berenice, when ſhe ſaw him ſet out for his Syrian expedition, made a vow, that if he returned ſafe ſhe would conſecrate to the gods her hair, which was exceedingly beautiful. He returned victorious to his kingdom, and Berenice, faithful to her vow, cauſed her hair to be cut off, and depoſited it on the altar of Venus, in the temple built at Alexandria by Philadelphus, in

honour of Arſinoe his beloved ſpouſe. Soon after, by ſome neglect of the keepers of the temple, the hair diſappeared, and the king being highly incenſed, was going to puniſh them. Conon, however, an able aſtronomer, preſented himſelf before the monarch towards the cloſe of the day, and ſaid: "Raiſe your eyes towards the ſeven ſtars in "the tail of the dragon, and there you will behold "the hair of Berenice, which was carried away, "and placed in the heavens as a happy conſtella-"tion." The king, no doubt, wiſhed to be deceived, for a knowledge of the heavens was familiar to the Ptolemies. They are even the authors of an æra known by their name. The courtiers, after the example of the maſter, ſeemed to be convinced of the truth of the miracle; and it was celebrated in verſes by the poets, another peſt of courts. We have ſtill remaining on the hair of Berenice a hymn of Callimachus, tranſlated by Catullus.

Euergetes was not only a lover of the ſciences, but he wrote himſelf hiſtorical memoirs, which were eſteemed; and by his care the library of Alexandria was increaſed. In the courſe of his conqueſts he tranſmitted to it every thing valuable that he met with; and when he returned to his kingdom he diſpatched learned men into every quarter, giving them orders to procure books let the expenſe be what it might. When he could not obtain curious works but by borrowing them, Literature.

he cauſed beautiful copies to be made of them, and, after the example of his father Philadelphus, ſent the copies to the owners, and kept the originals.

In returning from his Syrian expedition he paſſed through Jeruſalem, and being deſirous of ſeeing the Jewiſh ceremonies, he offered up ſacrifices to the god of Iſrael. The collector of his tribute was a Jew, named Joſeph, who may be conſidered as the patriarch of farmers of the public revenue. He was the nephew of the high-prieſt Onias, and had come to Egypt to defend his uncle, againſt whom complaints had been carried to the king. During his journey he met with ſome rich financiers, who were going to court to make an offer of farming the taxes of Cæleſyria. They travelled in the moſt ſumptuous manner; but Joſeph with the greateſt ſimplicity. The plainneſs of his equipage became a ſubject for their raillery; and as they found him an agreeable companion, they admitted him into their company. Joſeph, by liſtening to their converſation, penetrated into their projects; diſcovered their means and reſources; became acquainted with the advantages of the plan they had in view; preſented himſelf as a competitor with them for farming the taxes; made an offer, and obtained the preference. It would appear that in collecting theſe taxes he employed meaſures not agreeable to the people; ſince the king was obliged to give him a guard of

two thouſand men to ſupport him: but he acquired immenſe riches; and returned to Judea to enjoy his fortune at a diſtance from the maledictions of thoſe whom he had ruined.

The mind, fatigued with the horrors of Syria, may have found ſome repoſe during theſe three Egyptian reigns, which however are not entirely free from reproach; but the reigns which follow will ſubject the reader to new pain. Ptolemy Philopator, that friend of his father, is ſuſpected of having put him to death, that he might reign the ſooner. This imputation, even if ill founded, is a proof that filial duty was not conſidered as his favourite virtue; and that if he acquired a name which does him honour, it was given to him only through irony. He has been called alſo Tryphon, that is, the Effeminate; and is branded with being attached to the moſt infamous debauchery. He had a brother named Magas, who was much reſpected; and as he dreaded him on that account, he put him to death. The ſword was for ſome time ſuſpended over the head of this unhappy prince, by the remonſtrances of Cleomenes king of Sparta, to whom Euergetes had given an aſylum in Egypt. The prudence and rare qualities of the Spartan prince rendered him formidable to Soſibius, the miniſter and favourite of Ptolemy; and the efforts he made, by reaſoning and intreaty, to ſave Magas, afforded to the jealous Soſibius an opportunity of ruining the fugitive monarch in the

Philopator. 2782.

mind of the king. Suſpicion was ſoon followed by commiſſion of the crime, and Cleomenes was ſacrificed.

This was only the ſacrifice of one man, a great crime no doubt; but a whole people condemned to degradation, or death, is what characterizes this monſter, who ſported with the honour and lives of others. Becauſe the high-prieſt of the Jews had refuſed to ſuffer Ptolemy to enter the temple of Jeruſalem, he reſolved to avenge himſelf on all the Jews in his dominions, for the affront which he pretended had been offered to him in Judea. They were exceedingly numerous, eſpecially at Alexandria. By a ſolemn edict, he ordered them either to adore the pagan deities, or to ſuffer themſelves to be marked with a hot iron, which would imprint on their forehead a leaf of ivy, the ſymbol of Bacchus. All of them, except about three hundred, preferred this infamy to apoſtacy. Being incenſed at this almoſt general reſiſtance, he commanded all the Jews reſident in Egypt to be brought in chains to Alexandria; where they were confined, to the number of about forty thouſand, in the hipprodrome, or place deſtined for the exhibition of horſe races. Elephants were to be introduced into this place to tread them to death with their feet; and the time was fixed for the execution of this cruel ſentence. The people, always fond of bloody ſpectacles, twice ſurrounded the hippodrome, and twice was the execution ſuſ-

pended by Ptolemy overſleeping himſelf after intoxication. Philopator conſidered theſe events as a warning from the deity, and he diſmiſſed the unfortunate Jews under a firm conviction that they were indebted for their deliverance to a miracle, performed in their favour as a recompenſe for their fidelity to the law of their anceſtors. But they diſgraced this noble conduct, by maſſacring the three hundred who had bowed the knee before the idols. Notwithſtanding this amneſty, forty thouſand Jews are reckoned to have periſhed in Alexandria alone.

Unfortunately the king had in Soſibius a miniſter very proper to gratify his fury, whatever might be the object of it. Arſinoe, the wife and ſiſter of Philopator, had followed him in his warlike expeditions, haranguing the ſoldiers, and combatting at their ſide. After having been barren for ſeveral years, ſhe brought her huſband a ſon. Her fecundity emboldened her to aſk favours; but as ſhe became importunate, the king complained, and ſhewed a deſire to get rid of her. As Soſibius had an official aſſaſſin, named Philammon, he detached him againſt the queen, and ſhe was put to death. The female attendants of this unhappy princeſs took advantage of a ſedition to attack the murderer in their turn, and they maſſacred him with ſtones and clubs.

Soſibius held the reins of government for ſixty years. He was the moſt artful and the moſt cor- Soſibius.

rupt miniſter that ever exiſted; and made no ſcruple of employing the moſt horrid crimes to accompliſh his views. We are aſſured by the hiſtorian Polybius, that he was the cauſe of the murder of Lyſimachus, the ſon of Ptolemy; of Magas, the king's brother; of Arſinoe, the daughter of Lyſimachus; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; and, in the laſt place, of queen Arſinoe. After ſo long a miniſtry, marked with ſo much cruelty, he died in peace at a great age: a ſingular inſtance perhaps in hiſtory. It appears that he quitted his employments before the death of the king. It is even believed that the people, incenſed by the murder of the queen, inſiſted on Soſibius being diſgraced: a puniſhment very inadequate to ſo many crimes. Ptolemy led an obſcure life, immerſed in infamous pleaſures, and abandoned his kingdom to corrupted men, and to women void of modeſty, who in his name diſtributed the civil and military employments to people ſimilar to themſelves. This worthleſs prince, either through ſcruples of conſcience or vanity, gave away large ſums in charity, and built temples. He left behind him a ſon five years of age.

Epiphanes, 2799. It appears that, after the diſgrace of Soſibius, the people and the nobility had, as it were, forced the king to give the miniſtry to Tlepolemus, who at that time had the care of the finances. The young prince was put into the hands of a perſon named Agathocles, to be educated. As Agathocles,

the ſiſter of Agathocles, and their mother Oenanthe, reſided in the palace, they were the firſt who heard of the king's death, which they concealed till they had carried away all the gold, ſilver, and jewels. From being keepers of the young prince, theſe people wiſhed to raiſe themſelves to the regency of the kingdom. Agathocles appeared in public, holding the young prince in his arms, and ſhedding tears. He harangued the courtiers, and implored their protection for the infant, which had been recommended, he ſaid, to his care by the dying monarch. He even had the boldneſs to aſſert that Tlepolemus aſpired to the throne. This calumny, however, proved unfortunate to the authors of it. The people were ſo incenſed, that they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner; tore the child from the arms of Agathocles; carried him to the hippodrome, and placed him on the throne. Agathocles, Agathoclea his ſiſter, and Oenanthe their mother, were brought before the child as if to be tried; and being condemned in his name, were executed before his eyes. The populace dragged their bloody carcaſes through the ſtreets of Alexandria, and tore them to pieces. All the relations and partiſans of the family were ſubjected to the ſame fate.

The Egyptian nobility were at great variance in regard to the regency. In this ſtate of embarraſſment they thought proper to refer the matter to the Romans; and the ſenate did not let ſlip this

opportunity of acquiring honour. They ſent Marcus Lepidus to Egypt to take upon him the tutorſhip of Ptolemy; but he ſoon reſigned his charge to Ariſtomenes, the Acarnanian, a man of great experience. The regent governed with general approbation; and when Ptolemy had attained to the age of fourteen, which was that fixed among the Egyptians for the majority of their kings, he delivered the kingdom to him in a moſt flouriſhing condition. It is in vain to enquire why he was ſurnamed Epiphanes, that is, the Illuſtrious; for he had ſcarcely got the ſupreme authority into his hands, when he employed it in ſuch a manner that every thing fell into diſorder. Ariſtomenes having preſumed to give him advice, he cauſed him to be poiſoned. His ſubjects revolted, and he appeaſed them by promiſes; but as ſoon as he had it in his power he broke his word, and put the rebels to death with the moſt cruel torments. It is not improbable that the miſtruſt which this conduct inſpired, contributed to his deſtruction. His courtiers often heard him ſpeak of a war, which he propoſed to undertake; but as they ſaw no money, they aſked him where he would find enough to defray the expenſes of his intended expedition. He replied: "My friends are my money." As they underſtood by this, that he meant to carry on the war at their expenſe, they diſpatched him by poiſon.

Ptolemy Philometor.

He left two ſons, Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Phyſcon, with a daughter named Cleopatra,

under the tutelage of Cleopatra their mother. This princeſs diſcharged with great honour the duties attached to the regency. As Phyſcon was ſuſpected of having haſtened her death, the people roſe againſt him, and would have deſtroyed him had not Philometor taken him under his protection. He obtained this ſurname on account of the love and gratitude which he ſhewed towards his mother. This prince maintained an unfortunate war againſt the king of Syria, in the courſe of which he was taken priſoner. The Alexandrians deſpairing of his return, cauſed Phyſcon to aſſume the crown. The Syrian, whoſe object was to ſubdue Egypt, carried back Philometor, reſtored his kingdom, and even gave him troops to oppoſe his brother; but he kept Peluſium, the key of Egypt, on his ſide, in order that he might be able to enter it again with the greater facility, after the two brothers ſhould be exhauſted. The deceiver, however, was deceived: they made up their quarrel, through the mediation of their ſiſter Cleopatra, and reigned for ſome time in great harmony.

Concord between brothers is rare, and particularly between brothers born to royalty. Philometor, the mildeſt of men, being haraſſed by Phyſcon, inſtead of involving his people in the horrors of a civil war, had recourſe to the arbitration of the Romans. Philopator, the father of theſe princes, having been educated as we may ſay by the republic, had always kept up with it a cloſe intimacy.

The preſents which he ſent to Rome, during the whole courſe of his reign, were ſo great, and tranſmitted with ſo much regularity, that they might be conſidered as a tribute. Philometor went thither himſelf; arrived on foot, without any attendants, clad in a mean dreſs; and ſtopped at the houſe of a painter from Alexandria. As ſoon as the ſenate were informed of his arrival, they procured him a lodging, furniture, and ſervants ſuitable to his rank; ſent ſome of its moſt diſtinguiſhed members to viſit him; and admitted him to plead his cauſe. The deciſion was attended with no difficulty. The kingdom of Egypt had always belonged to the eldeſt, and conſequently it was proper that it ſhould be given entirely to Philometor. But the ſenate conſidering that Phyſcon had already reigned, and being ſtill more moved by political reaſons, which told them that it was for the intereſt of the republic that the kingdom ſhould not be left entirely in one hand, they adjudged Egypt to Philometor, and Cyrenaica to Phyſcon. The latter deſired that they would add to his ſhare the iſland of Cyprus; and in his turn went to Rome to requeſt that favour: as this diſmemberment ſtill tended to weaken the ſtrongeſt of the two brothers, it was granted.

It was not without regret that Philometor ſaw himſelf ready to be deprived of ſo noble a poſſeſſion. He delayed, therefore, to give it up; and temporized with the greater hope of being able to keep this

iſland, as Phyſcon, being otherwiſe employed, was not in a condition to ſeize it by force. His debauchery and cruelty had rendered him ſo odious to the inhabitants of Cyrene, that they revolted; attacked him perſonally, and left him half dead on the ſpot. Phyſcon, judging of his brother by himſelf, believed him to be the author of the revolt; and he repaired to Rome to complain to the ſenate, and to demand back Cyprus. He returned with ambaſſadors, who were charged to prevail on Philometor to reſign his right to the iſland. The latter evaded giving a definitive anſwer; and both parties having prepared troops, the Romans ſuffered them to proceed to hoſtilities. Though Phyſcon was defeated and taken priſoner, his brother, always indulgent, not only reſtored him to liberty, but put him in poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Cyrene, and gave him an indemnification for the iſland of Cyprus, which he kept. He then carried the war into Syria, and died of his wounds in the arms of victory. It is aſtoniſhing that the courage of a prince who died combating ſhould have been doubted. This is the only reproach that can be thrown out againſt him. It is founded on this circumſtance, that in a battle he kept himſelf at a diſtance from danger. From this it may be concluded, that he had the courage of a general, and not that of a ſoldier; but we ought not to infer that he had none at all, ſince he expoſed himſelf ſo far as to receive mortal wounds.

Phyſcon, 2858. On the death of Philometor two parties appeared; one for Cleopatra, who wiſhed to place on the throne a ſon ſtill an infant, and the other for Phyſcon. They, however, entered into an agreement, by which it was ſettled that Phyſcon ſhould marry his ſiſter, the widow of his brother, and reign with her as long as ſhe lived, but that the ſon of Philometor ſhould be declared heir to the crown. Here the reign of Phyſcon in Egypt commences. We ſhall give an account of the actions of this tyrant, but in as brief a manner as poſſible, as if we were treading upon burning coals.

Phyſcon married his own ſiſter; but on the very wedding-day he butchered his nephew at the breaſt of his mother. She brought him, however, a ſon, whom he named Memphitis; becauſe he was at Memphis, employed in acts of religion, when his wife lay-in. Having already acquired the ſurname of Phyſcon, or the big-bellied, which denoted his deformity, he was ſtigmatized with that alſo of Kakergetes, which ſignifies evil-doer, a title which he too well merited. All thoſe who oppoſed him when he aſſumed the crown, he cauſed to be put to death. From ſuch a monſter this is not aſtoniſhing; but thoſe even who had been favourable to him were treated in the ſame manner, becauſe having been unfaithful to his nephew they might be ſo to him. It is not exaggeration to ſay, that the ſtreets of his two capitals,

Alexandria and Cyrene, were often inundated with blood. His barbarous orders were executed by foreign ſoldiers, ferocious men, who knew nobody but him; and who being well paid, ſerved him with blind obedience. His fear and ſuſpicion inſpired him with the moſt atrocious reſolutions. He had done ſo much miſchief to the city of Alexandria, that he was every moment in apprehenſion of ſome revolt. That he might deprive it, therefore, of its principal force, he cauſed the moſt diſtinguiſhed part of the youth to be maſſacred, while they were aſſembled at their exerciſes in the hippodrome. Their fathers, mothers, and relations fled, and deſerted the city in crowds. In their room he invited thither all thoſe who choſe to go, and put them in poſſeſſion of the furniture, and every thing elſe, that had belonged to the fugitives; but theſe new citizens ſoon perceived, by the ſeverity of the taxes, and oppreſſion of every kind, what confidence ought be placed in the kindneſs of a villain.

The queen had a daughter by Philometor, named Cleopatra, like herſelf. This princeſs was ſo unfortunate as to excite the affection of Phyſcon, who firſt debauched, and then married her, after he had divorced her mother. After the maſſacre of Alexandria he retired to Cyprus with his young ſpouſe, to avoid the fury of the people, who forced the repudiated queen to reſume the crown. The king, on this intelligence, thought

he already ſaw his ſon Memphitis invited to Egypt by his mother, and ſubſtituted in his room. He, therefore, ſent for his ſon in the utmoſt haſte, and cauſed him to be put to death. As ſoon as the crime was known at Alexandria, the fury of the people againſt the tyrant was doubly inflamed. They loaded him with imprecations, broke to pieces his ſtatues, and declared him excluded for ever from the throne. The Alexandrians, touched by the grief of the mother, endeavoured to alleviate her affliction by the moſt public teſtimonies of their eſteem. Phyſcon having heard of theſe tranſports of affection towards her, and of the hatred entertained againſt himſelf, imagined that this indignation of the people, ſo ſtrongly expreſſed, was entirely owing to his old ſpouſe. As the birth of Cleopatra was to be celebrated exactly about this time, under pretence of being reconciled to her, the king ſent her a box, ſaid to contain a rich preſent; but when ſhe opened it, ſhe found the limbs and head of her own ſon.

One might believe that nature had endeavoured to make Phyſcon a monſter, in every ſenſe of the word. He was ſhort of ſtature; had an exceſſive large belly, and enormous head, and a ſavage look. Though he had twice exhibited his hideous figure at Rome, the Roman ambaſſadors ſent to his court could not behold him on his throne without a mixed ſentiment of aſtoniſhment and horror. The republic had charged them to

viſit Greece and Macedonia, which had been ſubjected to its government; and they were afterwards to proceed, in ſucceſſion, to the courts of Egypt, Syria, Pergamus, and Bythinia, to examine the ſtate of the affairs of theſe kingdoms. The Romans derived more than one advantage from each of theſe miſſions. Among the number of their ambaſſadors there were always young perſons who were thus accuſtomed to public buſineſs. The ſenate, by the information they received from their report, were enabled to judge reſpecting the events which took place in theſe kingdoms as if they had been on the ſpot, and to purſue the proper meaſures with ſafety and effect. Theſe envoys, by their noble and polite behaviour, their conciliating diſpoſition, and offers of ſervice, ſometimes followed with acts of kindneſs, inſpired a general eſteem for the Roman people; and, in ſome meaſure, prepared nations for the yoke about to be impoſed on them. Phyſcon received the ambaſſadors with every mark of diſtinction. He perhaps was too fond of diſplaying before them his riches, and pointing out to them the beauty of his kingdom. They made a tour through it with the curioſity of perſons who had ſome intereſted view; and were convinced that Egypt might be rendered one of the moſt powerful ſtates in the world, had it been governed by a better prince.

It requires no great ability to be wicked; but Sciences.

thoſe who are exceſſively wicked require ability to ſucceed. Phyſcon's talents were conſiderable. During the ſhort intervals between his fits of debauchery, he cultivated the ſciences and the fine arts. It is even ſaid that he poſſeſſed great learning, and that he could converſe on every ſubject with the utmoſt eaſe. A hiſtory of his own time, which he wrote, was highly eſteemed. He commented on Homer, increaſed the library of Alexandria, and ſhewed his generoſity to men of letters by gratifications and penſions; but by a ſingular contraſt, it was under his reign that the ſciences began to decline in Egypt. When they abandoned Aſia, Greece, and the iſlands of the Archipelago, frightened by the wars of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, they found an aſylum under the Ptolemys. Grammarians, phyſicians, painters, architects, poets, and philoſophers, flocked to Alexandria, where a magnificent library was opened; and where the immenſe porticoes of a ſuperb muſeum collected men fond of inſtructing each other, and facilitated a communication of knowledge. But without liberty theſe advantages become uſeleſs. Phyſcon, a ſuſpicious tyrant, wiſhed not only to enchain ſpeech, but to over-awe the thoughts. This reſtraint depopulated the academies of Alexandria, and reduced Egypt, which had been the ſeat of the arts and the ſciences to a ſtate of ſterility, which has ſtill increaſed to the preſent day.

Phyſcon, that monſter of cruelty, lived ſeventy-three years, and died a natural death, in the boſom of Alexandria, which he had inundated with blood. By Cleopatra, his niece, he had two ſons, Lathyrus (Chich-pea) and Alexander, with three daughters, Cleopatra, Selene, and Tryphœna. We might write the hiſtory of this family in a few lines, as follows: Phyſcon left the throne to his widow, with the liberty of placing on it, after her, whichever of her ſons ſhe might think proper. She made choice of Alexander, the youngeſt, as being the eaſieſt to govern. Lathyrus took ſhelter in Cyprus; but the people, diſcontented with the injuſtice of his mother, obliged her to recal him. She, however, did not ſuffer him to participate in the throne, until he had repudiated Cleopatra, his eldeſt ſiſter, whom he loved, and married Selene, the youngeſt, for whom he ſhewed only indifference. But his mother thought him proper for her deſigns. By new intrigues ſhe expelled Lathyrus from the throne, and placed on it Alexander. The two brothers carried on war againſt each other. Alexander having diſcovered that his mother wiſhed to get him aſſaſſinated, prevented her by putting her to death. As this action diſguſted the Egyptians, they drove him from the kingdom, and recalled Lathyrus. Alexander was killed while endeavouring to return to Cyprus, and left a ſon, named Alexander alſo. In the laſt

Lathyrus. Alexander. 2887.

place, Lathyrus died, and left only one daughter, named Cleopatra, or Berenice.

We might fill up this outline, not with noble actions, for theſe no longer took place in Egypt, but with wars, in which a diſtinguiſhed part was acted by the Jews. Cleopatra was fond of theſe people, and had for her prime miniſters two Iſraelites, great extortioners. Lathyrus, on the other hand, hated them; and it was on account of this averſion that Cleopatra excited againſt her ſon the odium of the people, and cauſed him to be expelled from Egypt, by the following infernal ſtratagem. She prevailed on two of her eunuchs to ſuffer themſelves to be wounded, and covered with blood. They appeared in the market-place, crying out that they had been reduced to that ſtate by defending their miſtreſs, on whom her ſon had attempted to commit a rape; and however much the people of Egypt were accuſtomed to crimes, this one excited general indignation, to which Lathyrus fell a victim.

Cyrenaica. In the war which he carried on againſt the Jews, the following atrocious action is ſaid to have taken place. His troops being cantonned in ſome villages, the inhabitants of which he ſuſpected not to be ſincere in their ſubmiſſion, he collected all the women and children, and cauſed them to be cut to pieces, and boiled in cauldrons, as if he had intended to regale his army with this horrid re-

paſt. He committed this barbarity in order to ſtrike a terror into the people, and to prevent them from making any attempt againſt him. Lathyrus was as little ſparing of his own ſubjects. On account of a revolt, which took place in Thebes, the moſt beautiful city of his kingdom next to Alexandria, he raſed it to the foundation. Some idea may be formed of the legitimate children of Phyſcon, from the following picture: of his two ſons, one killed his mother, and the other butchered, without diſtinction, his own ſubjects, as well as foreigners. The three daughters maſſacred each other. One illegitimate child, named Apion, the ſon of Irené, a concubine, had no reſemblance to his father. He confined himſelf to Cyrenaica, of which Phyſcon had made him king, and never interfered with the affairs of Egypt. This ſmall kingdom flouriſhed under his government. It contained five principal cities, well built, extremely populous, and all places of great trade. Near one of them, named Berenice, but which originally had been called Heſperis, lay the garden of the Heſperides, celebrated by the beauty of its fruits, and a river, named Lethe. Both the garden and the river have been an abundant ſource of fiction for the poets. After a reign of twenty years, Apion, thinking to enſure the happineſs of his people, left his kingdom to the Romans; but his wiſh was not gratified. The republic took only thoſe parts which ſuited its convenience, and abandoned the

reſt to the mercy of thoſe tyrants by whom it was ſeized, and of factions produced by anarchy. The Romans, however, had ſome pity on theſe unfortunate people, and ſent Lucullus to their relief. Having aſked Lucullus to give them a plan of government, he made the following reply, which was made alſo by Plato to their anceſtors: "A "people ſo rich as you are can never ſubmit to "the authority of laws."

Alexander II, 2923.

Lathyrus left only one legitimate daughter, named Cleopatra, who was placed on the throne by the Alexandrians: but ſhe had a couſin, the ſon of Alexander the brother of Lathyrus, named Alexander, like his father. When his mother Cleopatra was obliged to ſuffer the crown of Egypt to be taken from her, ſhe ſent young Alexander with a great deal of riches to Cos, an iſland which abounded with learned men, as being a place where he was likely to receive the beſt education. Mithridates having taken Cos, and carried with him the young prince and his riches to his kingdom of Pontus, Alexander ſeeing with what readineſs Mithridates got rid of his own children on the ſlighteſt pretence, was much afraid for himſelf on account of his great riches. He fled for ſafety to the camp of Sylla, who ſent him to Egypt when intelligence was received at Rome of the death of Lathyrus. His couſin Cleopatra, who was only ſeventeen years of age, had already borne the crown ſix months. An arrangement took

place between them, and, according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors, they entered into the nuptial bond; but the reſult was agreeable to ancient uſages. On the nineteenth day after the marriage Alexander put his wife to death, either becauſe ſhe was not agreeable to his taſte, or becauſe he was unwilling to have a ſpouſe who poſſeſſed an equal right to the throne. This crime produced a revolt in Alexandria. Some ſay that the inhabitants killed the murderer, and others, that he eſcaped from their hands, and reigned ſeveral years after, but that he exerciſed ſo many cruelties, and abandoned himſelf to ſo great irregularities, that his ſubjects expelled him, and that he died at Tyre, to which he had fled, after taking the precaution to ſend before him a great deal of riches.

The laſt opinion is the moſt probable. Alexander certainly ſurvived the aſſaſſination of his wife long enough to ſee himſelf oppoſed by a competitor, whom the Egyptians raiſed up againſt him. For want of a legitimate prince, they choſe a baſtard of Lathyrus, named Ptolemy Auletes, or the Flute-player. Alexander complained at Rome; but he died before he knew with what ſucceſs his application had been attended. He had made a will by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs, not ſo much through affection to the republic as a deſire to occaſion embarraſſment to his rival. This will gave riſe to violent debates in

Ptolemy Auletes, 2928.

the ſenate. The ſucceſſion was a ſtrong temptation to the Romans; but as they had acquired Cyrenaica by the will of Apion, and Bithynia by that of Nicomedes, they were afraid that by accepting Egypt they ſhould give too evident proofs of their avarice and ambition. It was therefore determined that they ſhould tranſport to Rome the riches depoſited at Tyre; and that in regard to the kingdom, they ſhould ſuffer Auletes to be inſtalled without openly approving or diſaproving of the meaſure.

The firſt care of this prince was to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged king of Egypt by the republic. The negociation which took place on this ſubject produced a very large ſum to Julius Cæſar, then conſul, and deeply involved in debt, and another to Pompey, whoſe influence was neceſſary to get the deciſion paſſed in the ſenate. By the payment of about one million ſterling, Auletes obtained the title of an ally of the Roman people. Another baſtard of Lathyrus, who had ſeized on the iſland of Cyprus, not being artful enough to purchaſe, like Auletes, the conſent of the Romans, was declared by a decree of the ſenate to have forfeited all right to the throne. He requeſted aſſiſtance from his brother; but the latter refuſed, that he might not diſpleaſe the Romans. The Egyptians, incenſed at this ſervile timidity, expelled him from the throne of Egypt, and placed on it his daughter Berenice, for whom

they endeavoured to find a huſband capable of ſupporting her; but they made a bad choice. Seleucus, her neareſt relation, a prince of the family of the Seleucidæ, whom they gave to her, was ſo ugly and diſguſting, that he got the name of the Scullion. His ſoul correſponded to his body. He violated the tomb of Alexander the Great; and for the golden coffin which contained his body he ſubſtituted one of glaſs. He became ſo odious and inſupportable to the queen, that ſhe cauſed him to be ſtrangled. He was ſucceeded by Archelaus, ſaid to be the ſon of Mithridates the Great; but who was only the ſon of his firſt lieutenant, high-prieſt of Comana, in Pontus, an excellent officer, and endowed with virtues truly royal.

While theſe events were taking place in Egypt, Auletes had gone to Rome to ſolicit aſſiſtance. When at Rhodes, he learned that Cato had arrived at that iſland. As this was a favourable opportunity for making himſelf acquainted with the ſtate of affairs, and the meaſures to be purſued, he ſent notice to Cato that he wiſhed to ſpeak to him, and imagined that the Roman would with ready obedience pay him a viſit. But Cato replied, "Let him come to me." When Auletes was introduced to him, he found a man plainly dreſſed, and with a very humble equipage. The republican received the monarch as if he had been an ordinary citizen, and liſtened to him with atten-

tion. The reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to ſee Rome as it was at that time painted by the hand of Cato. "How," ſaid he to the king, "can you abandon the moſt beautiful country "in the world, in order to go to Rome, where "you will be expoſed to the moſt contemptuous "treatment from the great, who are as avaricious "as they are factious? I muſt candidly tell you "that all the riches of Egypt would not be ſuf-"ficient to gratify their thirſt of money. You "may reſt aſſured that a prince who brings with "him only miſery and complaints, will get no-"thing from them; and if you obtain a few pro-"tectors you will find in them as many new ma-"ſters. Return to Egypt; and endeavour by a "wiſe and moderate government to gain the af-"fection of your ſubjects, which you have loſt "by your imprudence." Cato offered to accompany him, and to exert all his influence with the Egyptians, to induce them to receive him. So noble and generous a reſolution was not ſuited to Auletes. He, however, heſitated; but he continued his journey to Rome.

It might be judged from the conduct of the Egyptian monarch, that what affected him moſt in the conduct of Cato, was the account which he gave of the ſtate of venality at Rome. He reſolved to take advantage of theſe hints; and his ſucceſs exceeded his hopes. We may form ſome idea of this monarch's arrival at Rome, when we

ſuppoſe him preceded by a report of his bringing with him the whole riches of his empire. Pompey received him at his houſe with great magnificence; and the moſt celebrated of the ſenators, Gabinius, Bibulus, and Marcellinus, were eager to attend him. The Alexandrians having ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to plead their cauſe, their orator was thrown into priſon, and their chief with ſeveral of his colleagues was aſſaſſinated. The criminals were tried before ſome of the tribunals and acquitted; and the unjuſt judges, accuſed in their turn, were declared innocent. But money was neceſſary to pay for all theſe crimes; and the king's treaſures were exhauſted. Recourſe was then had privately to uſurers; and Pompey himſelf promoted the loans, by becoming ſurety for the monarch, which he could indeed do without running any riſque, as the money only paſſed through the hands of Auletes, to come at laſt into his own. Cæſar at this time was abſent in Gaul.

This corruption was notorious; but ſo many people were intereſted in it that no one dared to complain. Ptolemy ſaw himſelf on the point of obtaining an army, the command of which, as an inexhauſtible ſource of riches, was ſolicited by ſeveral of the ableſt generals of the republic, among whom was Pompey, when ſome honeſt men in the ſenate, for want of better means to oppoſe the meaſure, employed ſuperſtition. Por-

cius Cato opened the book of the Sybilline prophefies, and read, or pretended to read, the following words: "If a king of Egypt ſhall apply "to you for ſuccour, aſſiſt him, but not with "troops." This oracle entirely deſtroyed the hopes of Auletes, who being ſtripped of his riches, ſet out, purſued by his creditors, to avoid whom he was obliged to conceal himſelf in an aſylum. But avarice, always active and vigilant, exerted itſelf in his favour. His partiſans at Rome, thoſe who had lent him money, and who were unwilling to loſe what they had advanced, wrote to the generals of the republic, in the neighbourhood of Egypt, that the reſtoration of Ptolemy to the throne would be a good ſtroke of policy, which would make the fortune of the perſon who ſhould accompliſh it. They pointed out to them the means of eluding the oracle, and of employing in that expedition the armies of the republic, without the fear of incurring blame. Several of them refuſed; but Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, undertook the affair for the ſum of about two millions ſterling, to be paid to him when Auletes ſhould be ſeated on to the throne. He accordingly entered Egypt, having the king in his army. His ſucceſs was rapid. Peluſium was the firſt place that he took, and the Egyptian monarch wiſhed to put the inhabitants to the ſword; but the Roman general oppoſed this cruel and impolitic meaſure.

Archelaus, the queen's huſband, who attempted to check their progreſs, was defeated in a general engagement, and taken priſoner. Gabinius might have immediately put an end to the war; but in conſequence of a large ſum offered to him by Archelaus, he pretended that the latter had privately eſcaped, and then demanded a new ſum from Ptolemy, in order to carry on the war. Rabirius, a Roman knight, was ready in the camp to advance to the monarch, at conſiderable intereſt, the required ſum, which was conveyed into the hands of the general. The war was then reſumed with new vigour, and terminated by a battle in which Archelaus was killed.

As ſoon as Auletes found himſelf maſter of Alexandria, he ſacrificed to his reſentment his daughter Berenice, becauſe ſhe had dared to wear the crown during his exile, though ſhe had done ſo by compulſion. He afterwards put to death all the opulent citizens, under a pretence that they had ſupported the rebels, and confiſcated their property, which ſerved to pay Gabinius. The Alexandrians, plundered and ruined, were reduced to a ſtate of deſpair; but, though ſtrongly inclined to revolt, they were over-awed, as well as the other cities, by the Roman ſoldiers whom Gabinius had left behind him. Theſe people, however, whom the ſhadow of a Roman made to tremble when they attempted to defend their own property, became as furious as lions when a Roman

ſoldier happened, by accident, to kill a cat. They tore the unhappy culprit to pieces.

All the extortion of Auletes was not ſufficient to ſatisfy Rabirius. Having urged the monarch for payment, the latter replied: "I ſee no means "of diſcharging the debt, unleſs you conſent to "take the management of my revenues, and thus "reimburſe yourſelf gradually from what you "may have in your hands." Rabirius did not perceive the ſnare which was laid for him. From being a Roman knight he condeſcended to become a tax-gatherer; and when he had taken upon him reſponſibility, Auletes found a ſufficiency of pretences for cauſing him to be arreſted. Rabirius exclaimed againſt this act of injuſtice; and Pompey, who had been ſurety at Rome, ſeemed highly diſpleaſed with the king's conduct; but, as there was little to be hoped, and every thing to be feared from a cruel and avaricious prince, Rabirius thought himſelf exceedingly happy that he was ſuffered to eſcape from priſon, and to quit Egypt. Such was the manner in which Auletes paid his debts. This was the laſt event of a reign of thirty years; much too long for his people, ignominious for himſelf, and attended with very little honour to the Romans. They, indeed, wiſhed to bring to juſtice the two offenders, Gabinius and Rabirius, who were criminally proſecuted on their return to Rome; but the eloquence of Cicero ſaved Rabirius from pu-

niſhment, though not from ſhame. Gabinius was baniſhed; but thoſe by whom they had been inſtigated, and who gained by their dilapidations, continued to walk about in Rome with their uſual confidence: a ſhameful inſtance of impunity, the uſual forerunner of the deſtruction of empires.

Auletes had two ſons, both named Ptolemy, and two daughters, Cleopatra and Arſinoe, the former of whom has been celebrated in hiſtory. He diſpoſed of his crown in favour of his eldeſt ſon and daughter, on condition of their entering into the bonds of marriage. Cleopatra was ſeventeen years of age, and her brother thirteen. Auletes recommended his children to the Roman people, and begged them in his will to take them under their protection. The ſenate accepted this honourable office, and entruſted the execution of it to Pompey. The eunuch Pothinus was appointed prime-miniſter, and Achillas commander of the troops. Ptolemy. Cleopatra. 2966.

Theſe two men were not much pleaſed with a queen, who not only ſeemed little diſpoſed to ſuffer herſelf to be governed, but even ſhewed a deſire of commanding. By threats, or bad treatment, they obliged Cleopatra to leave her court. She retired to Syria and Paleſtine to raiſe troops; and returned boldly to give battle to her huſband and his miniſters, under the walls of Peluſium. While the armies were in ſight of each other, Pompey, after his defeat at Pharſalia, was ſeen ap-

proaching the coaſt of Egypt, where he hoped to find an aſylum. Having ſent to his pupil Ptolemy to requeſt permiſſion to enter his kingdom, a debate took place in the council, whether he ought to be received at the riſque of offending the conqueror; or whether it would be beſt to put him to death, in order to ſecure the friendſhip of Cæſar. The latter opinion prevailed, and Pompey was aſſaſſinated. This was a baſe crime, and an act of ingratitude in the ſucceſſor of Auletes, who had been placed by Pompey on the throne. The high opinion, however, which might be entertained of Pompey's ſervices is much leſſened when we recollect from what mercenary motives they proceeded. Cæſar, who was in cloſe purſuit of his rival, having arrived at the ſame time at Alexandria, Achillas imagined he ſhould do him a pleaſure by preſenting to him the head of his enemy; but he turned aſide his eyes with horror, and ſhed tears for his unfortunate fate.

Cæſar found the whole city of Alexandria filled with the utmoſt indignation, on account of the murder of Pompey, and little diſpoſed in his favour; but by means of ſpecious words, he was able to calm the people, without however forgetting his own intereſt; for he ſtrictly demanded the remainder of the money ſtill due to him by Auletes, ſince the time that he procured for him the title of an ally of the Roman people: Cæſar had brought with him the ſecurities. Pothinus,

who wiſhed this importunate creditor at a diſtance, embraced that opportunity of endeavouring to render him odious. He made the exaction appear ſtill more rigorous than it really was, by carrying away from the temples the gold and ſilver contained in them, and reducing the king and all the nobility, to the neceſſity of uſing earthen, or wooden veſſels, as if to inſinuate that Cæſar had ſeized on every thing. When the people were once diſpoſed to murmur, it was eaſy to prejudice them againſt Cæſar, on account of the order he ſent to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, to come and plead their cauſe before him, and even to diſband their troops. The Alexandrians were highly irritated, as they conſidered this order an inſult to the royal authority; but Cæſar ſtill appeaſed them by cauſing to be read publicly the will of Auletes, which gave the guardianſhip of his children to the republic. He ſaid, that as dictator he was perſonally charged with this office; but that he would act in no other quality than that of arbiter. The ferment of their minds was allayed by this explanation, and advocates were appointed on both ſides.

Cleopatra, who placed more confidence in her attractions than in the eloquence of the advocates ſhe might chooſe, privately quitted her army, and embarking in a ſmall boat, arrived about ſun-ſet at the gates of Alexandria. The great difficulty was to enter the city without being known, as

ſhe would have been ſtopped by her huſband's troops, and to make her way afterwards to the palace. Apollodorus, who apparently was a very robuſt man, wrapped her up in a mattreſs in ſuch a manner as to appear like a bale of goods; took her up on his ſhoulder, and having paſſed without detection, depoſited her at the feet of the judge.

Her appearing in this manner before Cæſar was of more value, in his eyes, than a triumphant entry. Ptolemy, on being informed of it foreſaw the conſequences. He ruſhed from his palace as if frantic; cried out that he was betrayed and condemned; tore the diadem from his head, and trod it under his feet. The people flocked around him, lamenting his fate, and ran to take up arms; but the Roman ſoldiers ſeized and detained the young prince, and next morning Cæſar not only effected a reconcilation between him and his ſpouſe, but married Ptolemy, the youngeſt of their ſons, who was only eleven years of age, to Arſinoe his ſiſter, who was a little older, and gave them the kingdom of Cyprus: a preſent intended only to deceive the people; for it was not to be ſuppoſed that the republic would reſign its right to that iſland.

This good intelligence was not of long duration. Pothinus, who had occaſioned the firſt diſcord, found means to renew it, in order that he might not be puniſhed, and that he might enjoy,

in-full liberty, the empire which he had always exercised over his pupil. He concerted with Achillas the proper measures for accomplishing what he had in view. The dictator found himself besieged in the quarter which he occupied with the royal family, and never was this general exposed to greater danger. He had few troops to oppose not only to a large army, but to a whole city, in a state of revolt. It was during one of the combats which took place on this occasion, that the celebrated library of Alexandria was burnt. Pothinus, who remained near the king, sent private intelligence to Achillas of the measures he was pursuing; but his treachery being discovered, he was put to death. Ganymedes, an eunuch of the palace, to whom young Arsinoe had been entrusted, and an accomplice of Pothinus, fearing the same fate, fled to the camp of Achillas, and carried with him his ward. The Egyptians were filled with great joy to think that they had in their army a branch of the royal family, whom they could place at their head. They proclaimed her queen, and appointed Ganymedes general, in the room of Achillas, whom he found means to put to death. This eunuch was, indeed, very fit to be prime-minister; for we are told by historians that he was a man of activity, address, and penetration, but of no probity.

He occasioned great embarrassment to Cæsar, who, together with his whole army, and the court,

were in danger of periſhing by thirſt, as he found means to introduce the water of the ſea into the ciſterns of the quarter where they were pent up, and thus to corrupt the water of the Nile, which alone could be procured at Alexandria. Cæſar, however, cauſed wells to be dug, from which he fortunately obtained a ſupply of freſh water. Ganymedes made ſeveral attacks, both by land and by ſea; but after a great deal of bloodſhed the contending parties had recourſe to a conference, as is generally the caſe. The Alexandrians ſaid, their only wiſh was to recover their king, whom the dictator conſented to reſtore. He, therefore, releaſed him, after giving him ſome good advice reſpecting the government of his kingdom, and exhorting him to put an end to the war, by a ſincere reconciliation with his ſpouſe. The young prince promiſed obedience, with tears in his eyes; but as ſoon as he found himſelf at liberty, he renewed the war with more fury than before.

Reinforcements having arrived to the Romans from all quarters, the dictator found himſelf in a condition to give battle, and gained a complete victory. The young king, during his flight, was drowned in an arm of the Nile. Cæſar entered Alexandria without difficulty; replaced Cleopatra on the throne, and made her marry her young brother, who was only eleven years of age. Young Arſinoe was taken after this defeat;

and Cæſar, the lover of her ſiſter, was ſo cruel as to conduct her to Rome, and to lead her in triumph, having her hands bound with gold chains. He afterwards ſet her at liberty; but with the prohibition of ever returning to Egypt. She retired to Aſia, where ſhe was not far from her cruel ſiſter, who put her to death. Cleopatra got rid alſo of her young huſband by poiſon; and and ſhe then found herſelf ſole ſovereign of Egypt. Love detained there the conqueror of Pharſalia much longer than his intereſt ought to have allowed; but ambition at length made him break his chains: he tore himſelf from the arms of the enchantreſs, and left with her a ſon, called Cæſarion.

Cleopatra, after the death of Cæſar, openly eſpouſed the party of the triumvirs. She was, however, ſuſpected of having ſent troops to Caſſius; and this offence, added to the complaints of her ſubjects, and of the neighbouring princes, made her be ſummoned to appear before the tribunal of Anthony, who had come to Aſia to eſtabliſh the power of the triumvirs. She had then attained to the twenty-fifth year of her age: a period of life as fit for buſineſs as for gallantry. The attractive charms which ſhe had received from nature were accompanied with wit, artifice, ſprightlineſs, and the graces. The ſurprize ſhe prepared for Anthony had no reſemblance to that which ſubdued Cæſar; but though leſs abrupt, it was no leſs

victorious. The triumvir had eſtabliſhed his tribunal at Tarſus, a city of Cilicia. When Cleopatra arrived at the mouth of the Cydnus, ſhe quitted the veſſel which had conveyed her thither, and proceeded up the river in a galley provided for the purpoſe. It was entirely covered with gilding; the ſails were of purple, and the cordage conſiſted of ſilk. The oars were plated with ſilver, and the movements of the rowers were regulated by the ſound of muſical inſtruments. The air was filled with the fragrance of perfumes burnt in great abundance; and the deck was covered with a canopy of cloth of gold, elegantly diſplayed and arranged with the utmoſt taſte. Below it appeared the queen in a poſture half reclining, and ſurrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like cupids, and beautiful virgins repreſenting ſome nereids, and others the graces. Venus, whoſe attractions ſhe called to remembrance, whoſe train ſhe had borrowed, and whoſe attire ſhe imitated, could not have appeared more beautiful in the midſt of her triumphs.

When this ſpectacle was announced, the people abandoned the tribunal of the triumvir, and haſtened towards the ſhore: Anthony ſent to invite her to ſupper. "Tell him," replied ſhe, with a flattering ſmile, "that I expect to ſee him in my "tents." The repaſt was ſplendid: ſoldiers and officers, Romans and auxiliaries, were all praiſed and careſſed, and loaded with preſents, in that

winning manner which renders refuſal impoſſible. The general, the object of the moſt delicate attention, was intoxicated with pleaſure and admiration. It may be readily conceived, that no more idea was entertained of accuſation or reproaches. Cleopatra aſſumed an abſolute empire over the unfortunate Anthony. Every day ſhe invented new pleaſures, and like another Circe ſupplied him with large draughts of voluptuouſneſs, of which ſhe had an inexhauſtible cup. Anthony, on his part, thought of nothing but in what manner he could gratify his lover.

After this period he ſaw only with her eyes, and conducted himſelf entirely by her counſels. As it was her deſire, he placed with her on the throne of Egypt her ſon Cæſarion, whom ſhe had born to Cæſar. To that kingdom he added Cyrenacia, the iſland of Cyprus, Cœleſyria, Phenicea, and the greater part of Cilicia. To three children whom he had by her, he aſſigned whole kingdoms, ſome already conquered, and others which he flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſubduing; but ſhe could not prevail on him to put to death ſome of the kings of the ſtates he had promiſed.

This diſtribution of empires was made after a triumph, in which Anthony dragged at his chariot, within the walls of Alexandria, Artabazus king of Media, together with his wife and children. He then preſented them to Cleopatra, who was ſeated on a golden throne, raiſed above a ſcaffold

overlaid with ſilver. The news of this ſpectacle gave great offence to the Romans, who believed that the privilege of triumphs belonged excluſively to their city. Their diſcontent was fomented by Octavius, who being informed of the bad conduct of his colleague, aimed at nothing leſs than to appropriate to himſelf the empire of the world, which they poſſeſſed in common. They had diſputes concerning the limits of their reſpective dominions; but their friends interpoſed, and imagined that they ſhould put an end to all diſcord by uniting in marriage Octavia, the ſiſter of Octavius, with Anthony. This expedient, however, had a quite contrary effect, and embroiled them without the leaſt hope of reconciliation. Cleopatra ſhuddered when ſhe heard of this marriage, which was about to deprive her of a lover; and ſhe exerted her influence ſo much, that he firſt ſuſpended the arrival of his ſpouſe who was approaching, and then ſent to Octavia a letter of divorce, and to her brother a declaration of war.

It would have been neceſſary to ſupport theſe violent proceedings by a ſudden attack. Octavius was unprepared, while Anthony had every thing in readineſs; and notwithſtanding his foibles poſſeſſed the love of his ſoldiers, and the eſteem of his friends; but he waſted his valuable time in luxury and enjoyment. Hiſtory has not diſdained to make us acquainted with Cleopatra's great talent in varying amuſements. A fiſhing party on the

Nile furniſhed her with an opportunity of employing a piece of ſevere raillery. Anthony made it a point of honour to catch the largeſt fiſh; and for that purpoſe had provided divers to affix them to his hook. The queen, who was equally ingenious, had divers alſo; and when Anthony drew up his line, he found at the end of it a beautiful ſalt fiſh. A general laugh diſconcerted the fiſher; and when Cleopatra found that he reliſhed the joke pretty well, ſhe threw her arms around his neck, and ſaid: "Let us abandon our lines and tackle to "the kings and queens of Phaſus and Canopus. "Your amuſement ought to be to catch cities, "kingdoms, and kings."

This prodigal and extravagant queen, in the courſe of one of thoſe orgies no doubt when reaſon becomes loſt, having at her ears two beautiful pearls, each valued at about fifty thouſand pounds, pulled out one of them, which ſhe diſſolved in vinegar, and then ſwallowed. She was going to do the ſame with the other, but was ſtopped by one of the gueſts, who obtained the pearl, and when ſawn in two, it was of ſufficient beauty to ſerve as an ornament to a celebrated ſtatue of Venus. We ſhall leave to chemiſts to examine what kind of vinegar it muſt have been to poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength to ſoften ſo ſolid a concretion, without injuring the health of the perſon who ſwallowed it.

Such whimſical ſacrifices were, no doubt, cal-

culated to captivate the credulous lover, and to perſuade him that he was more eſteemed than the moſt valuable jewels. But whether it was owing to inſinuations conveyed to him by ſtrangers, or to his own reflexions on the perfidious character of his miſtreſs, Anthony began to ſhew ſome ſymptoms of ſuſpicion. The queen inſtead of amuſing him with proteſtations invited him to dinner; and in a moment of playful gaiety, careleſsly detached a flower from the garland with which ſhe was crowned, and threw it into the cup of her gueſt. Anthony ſeized it with eagerneſs, and was going to apply it to his lips, but Cleopatra ſtopped him, and ſent for a criminal who had been condemned to death. The criminal drank the cup, and inſtantly expired, as the flower had been poiſoned. "Were it poſſible for me to live without you," ſaid the queen, "you ſee that I could never want "the means of realizing your ſuſpicions."

Prudence adviſed Anthony to fly from ſo expert a poiſoner; but paſſion reaſoned in a different manner. This proof of fidelity, which was extremely equivocal, drew ſtill cloſer the bonds of their union. Anthony appeared as if incapable of enduring a moment's abſence; and Cleopatra, on her part, never quitted him day or night; ſhe accompanied him on all his journeys, to the army, and even to his tribunal when he ſat to determine cauſes. Being both equally miſled by their preſumption, they indulged in the moſt extravagant

hopes. When this ambitious queen wiſhed to add ſolemnity to any aſſertion, her uſual oath was: "As I hope to give law in the capitol." A deluſive dream, her awakening from which was terrible.

After ſeveral indeciſive battles between the lieutenants of Anthony and Octavius, the two armies which were to decide the empire of the world, met under the command of their chiefs; the naval forces in the gulph of Ambracia, and the land forces drawn up on the promontory of Actium. Anthony was on board his fleet, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his captains, he had ſuffered himſelf to be accompanied by the queen of Egypt, which proved his ruin. Cleopatra, who was ſtill a prey to remorſe, ſeeing victory ready to favour the enemy, and fearing to fall into the hands of Octavius, whom ſhe had grievouſly offended by cauſing his ſiſter to be repudiated, betook herſelf to flight with her whole ſquadron, and decided the defeat of Anthony. He might have joined his land army, and again tried his fortune with thoſe who had more than once made him triumph; but through ſome fatal enchantment, he followed his perfidious lover. Seated in a melancholy attitude on the poop of his veſſel, ſupporting his head with his two hands, and perhaps ſtill more occupied with her than with his own misfortunes, he ſwore never to ſee her again. But he proceeded after her, and arrived along

with her in port. He endeavoured to confirm himſelf in the deſign he had formed of avoiding her; but the ſyren procured an interview, made him liſten to her complaints, ſhed a few tears, and at laſt gained a complete victory over him.

They were obliged, however, to tear themſelves from the enjoyment of reconciliation, in order to collect forces againſt the enemy, who was approaching. Anthony might have found troops had he only exerted himſelf. He was more beloved than Octavius; and it was with regret that the army withdrew from him that eſteem which he had formerly enjoyed. Herod king of Judea came to offer him his ſervices; and to ſee whether that ſoul, which in times of difficulty had diſplayed ſo much ſtrength and magnanimity, was ſtill ſuſceptible of energy. But he found only languor and weakneſs, with an unfortunate paſſion to which Anthony referred all his views and actions. All thoſe whoſe aſſiſtance Anthony ſolicited, his old friends and commanders, judged like Herod, and abandoned him to his fate. He then ſaw no other reſource left but to return to Egypt, where the queen had at her command ſhips, ſoldiers, and treaſures. "I will employ theſe," ſaid he, "but "I will neither ſee her nor ſpeak to her." Was it at Alexandria, in the habitation of Cleopatra, that he could hope to obtain ſuch a victory over himſelf? Anthony took up his lodging without the city in an agreeable country ſeat, which he

had cauſed to be built on the ſea ſhore. Meſſages paſſed between him and Cleopatra; but their common intereſt made it afterwards neceſſary for them to have ſeveral interviews. The object of them was to deliberate on treating with Octavianus, who was then advancing againſt them. After various propoſals which were rejected, Anthony confined himſelf to a requeſt that the conqueror would ſuffer him to live at Athens, as a plain individual, along with the queen; and that he would enſure to the children whom he had by her, the thrones which he deſtined for them. Octavianus gave only equivocal anſwers, as his object was to get the lovers into his power. While he advanced he ſtill continued to negotiate, without neglecting the means of force or ſurprize; and Anthony, amuſed by his hopes, was in great danger of falling into the ſnares laid for him. Like an enraged animal purſued to its laſt retreat, he then threw himſelf with fury on thoſe who wiſhed to ſurround him, repulſed them, and occaſioned dreadful ſlaughter. This was the term of his reſiſtance. Beſides the negotiation carried on in common, Cleopatra entered into a private one with Octavianus, who inſinuated that ſhe ought to abandon Anthony, and perhaps to give him up. On this condition he promiſed her every advantage ſhe could deſire. In the mean time he demanded ſometimes one city and ſometimes another, and at laſt the moſt important places of Egypt; while the

queen, deceived or ſeduced, delivered them into his hands. Incenſed at this treachery, which he thought he had no longer any reaſon to doubt, Anthony wiſhed to ſacrifice his perfidious lover; but ſhe retired to a monument of great height which ſhe had built, where ſhe ſhut herſelf up with two female attendants and a ſlave. She then ſent to inform her lover that ſhe had put herſelf to death. On hearing this intelligence, his violent tranſport of anger was converted into the deepeſt grief. Unable to endure the idea of exiſting without the object of his affection, he ſent for a ſlave on whoſe fidelity he could depend, and putting into his hands a poniard, ſaid: "You behold me "for the laſt time:—ſtrike." But the ſlave plunged the poniard into his own body, and expired at his feet. Anthony took the poniard in his turn, and having given himſelf a large wound, fell down bathed in blood. His friends haſtened to his relief; but he conjured them to diſpatch him. They were filled with horror and pity, and left him in the agonies of death near the body of his ſlave.

Cleopatra having heard of his deſperate ſtate, and that he was not yet dead, ſent her ſlave to inform him that ſhe was ſtill in life, and wiſhed to ſee him. On this invitation the dying lover ſeemed to revive; and ſuffering his wound to be dreſſed, ordered himſelf to be conveyed to the monument. As Cleopatra durſt not open the door for fear of being ſurprized by the emiſſaries of Octavianus, ſhe

let down ropes, to which Anthony being made faſt, was in that manner drawn up to a window by the queen and her two female attendants. He ſtretched out his trembling hands to the queen, and ſhe drew him into her apartment. The lamentation and mournful cries which were afterwards heard informed the Alexandrians, who arrived in crowds to behold this ſpectacle, that the unfortunate Anthony had ſurvived a very ſhort time the pleaſure of ſeeing once more the object of his affection.

The queen obſtinately perſiſted in her reſolution of remaining in the monument, to which ſhe had cauſed combuſtible matter, ſpices, and precious wood, to be conveyed, in order to conſume herſelf in it if any violence ſhould be attempted. She wiſhed to procure the crown for her children, and dreaded more than death the idea of being attached to the car of Octavianus, and dragged in triumph to Rome. To obtain the one, and avoid the other, ſhe conſidered it neceſſary to remain miſtreſs of her aſylum. She ſuffered no perſon to enter it, and converſed with the meſſengers ſent by Octavianus only through the door; but while one of the negotiators was engaging her attention with propoſals, another got in at the window through which Anthony had been drawn up. Finding herſelf ſurprized, ſhe ſnatched a poniard from her girdle, and attempted to ſtab herſelf; but the weapon was taken from her, and proper precau-

tions were employed to prevent the effects of her deſpair.

She then requeſted permiſſion to ſee Octavianus. It is aſſerted, that her object was to inſpire him with love; and indeed nothing of this kind, on the part of Cleopatra, ought to excite ſurprize. When he appeared ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, in a diſhabille concerted on purpoſe; but he raiſed her up, and ſaid coolly—"Do not deſpair, you "ſhall ſuffer no hurt." While ſhe converſed with him he never turned his eyes towards her, but kept them continually rivetted on the floor. So much prudence, ſo much fear or contempt of her charms, made her fully ſenſible of what ſhe had to dread; and ſhe prepared with firmneſs to avoid the ſhameful fate which awaited her.

Having prepared a magnificent repaſt, ſhe invited her friends to partake of it, and did the honours of the table with her uſual elegance and cheerfulneſs. She then wrote a note to Octavianus, diſpatched it by one of her guards, whoſe preſence ſhe found moſt embarraſſing, deſiring him to deliver it ſpeedily, and ſhut herſelf up in her apartment with her two female companions. She had cauſed to be brought to her a particular kind of ſerpent, peculiar to Egypt, concealed in a baſket under figs, by which means it eſcaped the vigilance of her guards. She knew that the bite of this animal introduced into the veins a ſtrong poiſon, which occaſioned a lethargic ſleep, and brought

an ſpeedy death without any pain. The queen threw herſelf on her bed, applied the animal to her arm, and cauſed it to inflict a mortal wound. Octavianus, alarmed by the note he had received, ordered the door to be opened, and found her covered with a rich dreſs, and ornamented as if for a day of feſtivity. One of her women was lying dead at her feet by the effects of the ſame poiſon, and the other was expiring. The horrors of death were ſo little imprinted on the countenance of Cleopatra, that Octavianus at firſt imagined ſhe was only aſleep; but the efforts he made to recal her to life were fruitleſs. He ordered her to be buried with royal honours, and to be depoſited in the ſame tomb with Anthony, as the two lovers had deſired. With her was buried the glory of Egypt, which became a Roman province, and which we ſhall hereafter ſee ſtill more degraded under the Turks.

ARMENIA.

The countries ſituated between Arabia Deſerta, the Pontus Euxinus, Aſiatic Tartary, India, and Perſia, were little known before Alexander, and would have remained ſo after his conqueſts, had not ſeveral of the monarchs of theſe petty kingdoms been engaged with the Romans in wars, by which they were rendered celebrated.

The two Armenias, between Meſopotamia, Cappadocia, Iberia, Albania, Media, and Syria.

Armenia the Greater is ſeparated from the Leſs by Mount Caucaſus. Both of them are covered

Face of the country. Manners.

with mountains, in which the Tigris, the Euphrates, and other large rivers, have their ſources. The woods and marſhes which abound in this country render it exceedingly cold. The inhabitants are not aſtoniſhed to ſee the ſnow ſuddenly cover the fields during the hotteſt months of the year. This temperature hurts fertility. The ancient inhabitants are ſuppoſed to have been the deſcendants of Japhet. It is certain that they were among the oldeſt in the world, if Noah's ark reſted, as is ſaid, upon one of their mountains. Human ſacrifices, and religious proſtitution, were found among them. Their manners were ſavage and wild. Thoſe of the modern Armenians have been ſoftened by commerce, in which they diſplay ſingular ability. They are the factors of the whole Eaſt. They employ the Syriac characters, and ſpeak two languages, that of the people, and that of the learned. The latter, it is ſaid, has no analogy with any of the oriental languages; it is remarkable for its peculiar energy, and the terms of art and ſcience which it contains. It is that employed in their ſacred worſhip. A man who has attained to a knowledge of it is conſidered by theſe people as a wonderful character; and thoſe muſt be acquainted with it who are admitted among the vertabiets or prieſts, for whom the Armenians have the moſt profound veneration. The government has always been monarchical; and it is ſo fit for the country, that when the kings failed either by

death, expulſion, or other cauſes, there were always found men who raiſed theſe overturned thrones on which they placed themſelves, and maintained their authority.

The ſucceſſors of Alexander entruſted Armenia 2834
to two governors, Zadriades and Artaxias, who exerciſed that office under Antiochus the Great, united their power, raiſed in concert the ſtandard of revolt, and eſtabliſhed themſelves as kings in their reſpective governments. They maintained the war with ſucceſs, and added to their ſtates many of the neighbouring provinces, by which means they acquired a conſiderable kingdom. Having then divided the whole, one part fell to Artaxias, under the name of Armenia the Greater; and the other to Zadriades, under that of Armenia the Leſs. Antiochus did not ſuffer them to conquer and partition theſe countries in peace, but he was obliged to give way to their united ſtrength, and to acknowledge them kings by a treaty. In order that they might leave him no temptation for interrupting their tranquillity, they took care to ſtrengthen themſelves by an alliance with the Romans.

Theſe allies were often troubleſome. Tigranes, Tigranes, 2914.
who has been ſurnamed the Great—great indeed in proſperity, but little in adverſity—conceived when he aſcended the throne, the bold project of forming a confederation to ſet bounds to the ambition of theſe dangerous republicans. He found in

Mithridates, king of Pontus, a prince very much diſpoſed to ſecond his efforts. Cappadocia, to which Mithridates laid claim, having been adjudged to Ariobarzanes by a decree of the ſenate, gave riſe to a war, the conditions of which were ſo regulated by the kings of Pontus and Armenia, that the former was to have the conquered countries, and the latter the ſpoils and the ſlaves. This engagement was ſealed by the hand of the daughter of Mithridates, which was given to Tigranes. Their ſucceſs was purchaſed at a cheap rate. Ariobarzanes fled to Rome, and abandoned his ſtates. One of the ſons of Mithridates was eſtabliſhed in his room, and Tigranes for his ſhare acquired immenſe booty.

We have ſeen, that during the ſtate of anarchy by which the expiring kingdom of Syria was laid waſte, Tigranes was invited by the people to receive the ſceptre. He wielded it for eighteen years with glory, and in the courſe of that period, augmented the kingdom of Armenia with parts diſmembered from Syria. But Mithridates loſt Cappadocia, which was taken from him by the Romans, and reſtored to Ariobarzanes. It was, however, recovered by Tigranes, who gave it to his father-in-law. Tigranes then conducted his victorious troops againſt the Greeks of Aſia, from whom he took immenſe riches, and three hundred thouſand priſoners, whom he employed in building Tigranocerta, which he made his capital.

Mithridates, ſtill intent on exciting enemies againſt the Romans, ſent an embaſſy to his ſon-in-law, the object of which was, not to carry on an indirect war againſt them as before by haraſſing their allies, but to attack them openly. At the head of this embaſſy he had placed Metrodorus, his counſellor, who was rather his friend than his ſubject, and in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence. Tigranes, before he determined on taking up arms, wiſhed to have a private conference, in which he begged to know his opinion reſpecting the war. Metrodorus yielded to his entreaty, and ſaid: "As chief of the embaſſy, I ought to adviſe "you to embrace the party of Mithridates againſt "the Romans; but as an individual I think you "cannot act more prudently, than to retain the "friendſhip of ſo powerful and formidable a "people." Tigranes was highly pleaſed with the ſincerity of the ambaſſador; and believing that Mithridates, if informed of it, would eſteem him the more, made him acquainted with the converſation; but Metrodorus died ſuddenly as he was returning. It has been ſuſpected that he was poiſoned; and in that caſe the two following concluſions may be drawn: firſt, that no man ought to be charged with a negotiation, unleſs he is fully convinced of the propriety of the meaſure which is the object of his miſſion; and the ſecond, that it is dangerous to believe that what we think ad-

vantageous for ourſelves will be viewed in the ſame light by others.

Tigranes took advantage of this advice, and would not engage in the war, at leaſt openly; but on the ſolicitation of his ſpouſe, he ſuffered ſome of his troops to enter into the ſervice of his father-in-law. The king of Pontus was beat, and forced to ſeek ſhelter with his ſon-in-law, who did not refuſe him an aſylum, nor any of thoſe comforts which can be procured to an unfortunate refugee; but he refuſed to ſee him, and ſet out to make conqueſts. He ſubdued Meſopotamia, Phœnicia, and the maritime countries of Aſia, as far as Egypt. Whether theſe victories gave uneaſineſs to the Romans, or rather that the treaſures of Armenia, ſwelled by the riches of ſo many opulent countries, excited the avarice of Lucullus, that Roman general, who had invaded the kingdom of Pontus, thought proper to quarrel with the king of Armenia on account of the aſylum he had granted to Mithridates, and to demand that the latter ſhould be given up to him. This inſulting demand, however, made Tigranes and his ſon-in-law unite more cloſely.

They deviſed a plan of attack and defenſe; but their meaſures were diſconcerted by the rapidity of Lucullus, who fell on Armenia like a thunderbolt. After that moment Tigranes was no longer the ſame great general who had ſubdued empires. He was ſeen not only retiring before

the Romans, but often ſetting his ſoldiers the example of flight. He was beat, and loſt battles: his towns, and even his capital, were taken; and his treaſures were plundered. Though he had ſtill at his diſpoſal immenſe armies, throwing aſide his royal mantle, and tearing off and concealing his diadem, he fled before a body of troops ſo inconſiderable, that he one day made their audacity a ſubject of pleaſantry. Comparing his own two hundred thouſand men with the eleven thouſand of the Roman general, when he ſaw them boldly advancing towards him, he ſaid: "If they are "ambaſſadors, they are too numerous; and if they come to attack us, they are too few."

Terror had ſo completely got poſſeſſion of Tigranes, and had ſuſpended all the faculties of his mind in ſuch a manner, that he never thought of turning to advantage the diſcontent which prevailed among the troops of Lucullus, who perceived that their general paid attention only to his own private advantage, and that they were nothing but the inſtruments of his avarice. One day, after a great many expeditions, attended with no benefit to his ſoldiers, having ordered them to march to a new conqueſt, they made no anſwer, but ſhewed him their empty purſes. He, however, found means to appeaſe them; and proceeded, not to new victories, but to new treaſures, as he had learned that Pompey was coming to ſucceed him. When theſe two generals met, Lucullus reproached

Pompey on account of his ambition; and Pompey, Lucullus on account of his avarice; and both of them, ſay the hiſtorians, were right.

It is agreed that, conſidering the weak ſtate in which Tigranes found himſelf, reduced almoſt to a few cities, nothing remained for Pompey, but exploits ill ſuited to the dignity of ſo great a general. The facility of his expedition was ſtill increaſed, by a misfortune which happened to the king of Armenia. One of his ſons, of the ſame name as himſelf, revolted ſo openly, that he aſſiſted Pompey with troops againſt his father. This gave a mortal blow to the unfortunate Tigranes; and made him form a reſolution of delivering himſelf into the hands of Pompey, and of truſting to his generoſity.

It was a flattering ſpectacle for the Romans to ſee this king of Armenia, who had cauſed himſelf to be ſerved by kings, and who, when he gave audience, had on each ſide of his throne two monarchs, to whom the moſt abject poſture was preſcribed, arrive in their camp without guards. Two lictors, to whom he delivered his ſword, obliged him to diſmount, under a pretence that no perſon was allowed to enter it on horſeback. Pompey came to meet him on foot; and as ſoon as Tigranes perceived him, he tore off his diadem, and threw himſelf proſtrate at his feet. Pompey, who was affected and moved by pity, received him in his arms, and replaced the crown on his head.

His ſon being preſent at this interview, Pompey, with a deſign of attempting a reconciliation, invited him with his father to ſupper; but the ſon, ſtill maintaining the ferocity of his character, did not go. This indecent conduct diſpoſed Pompey in favour of the father. Next day having heard both of them plead before his tribunal, he reſtored Armenia and Meſopotamia to Tigranes, on condition of his paying a ſtipulated ſum for the expenſes of the war. In regard to the ſon, he obtained only two inconſiderable provinces, after they had been ſtripped of the riches accumulated in them. The conqueror deſtined them for diſcharging part of the ſum which the king was obliged to pay.

This adjudication diſpleaſed the prince, who was ſo ill rewarded for his rebellion. From the camp, in which he was kept in a ſtate of confinement, he ſent confidential perſons to induce the provinces which had fallen to his ſhare, not to ſuffer their treaſures to be carried away. Pompey cauſed him to be loaded with chains, and in this ſtate he ſtill formed cabals, and privately excited againſt the Romans the king of the Parthians, whoſe daughter he had married. It was even known that he had formed a conſpiracy againſt the life of his father. The Roman general, fired with juſt indignation on account of theſe acts of perfidy, ſent him to Rome as a common priſoner. Tigranes during his whole life remained faithful to the Ro-

mans. His attachment was not merely political: it appears to have been ſincere. He carried it ſo far as to refuſe an aſylum to Mithridates, when defeated by Pompey; and he even offered a reward to thoſe who ſhould bring him his head. Did this proceed from a deſire of obliging the Romans, or of being revenged for the misfortunes into which he had been plunged by his father-in-law? He died, after a long and a happy reign, at the age of eighty-five.

Artuaſdes, 2962. The reign of Artuaſdes, his ſon, was exceedingly ſhort. A war broke out between him and Artavaſdes, the king of Media, and he ſucceeded in making the triumvir, Mark Antony, take a ſhare in it; but the two kings concluded a peace. That of Armenia did not inform the Roman general, his ally, of this circumſtance; on the contrary, he induced him to attack Media, and offered to ſerve him as a guide to enable him to penetrate into the kingdom. This treachery, according to every appearance, had been concerted between the two monarchs as a condition of their accommodation. Artuaſdes, with a numerous eſcort, put himſelf in the quality of guide at the head of Anthony's advanced guard, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, commanded by his lieutenant-general, and conducted him through countries ſo horrid, that he was obliged to leave the baggage and warlike machines by the way. When the advanced guard,

haraſſed and deſtitute of every neceſſary, arrived in Media, it was attacked by the Medes and Parthians, who made a great ſlaughter. Anthony hurried to the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers; collected ſuch of the fugitives as he was able; eſcaped himſelf with difficulty from the conquerors, and carried back his army to Armenia after a diſaſterous march.

Artuaſdes came to meet him, with an army in the beſt order poſſible. As this was not the moment for ſhewing ſymptoms of reſentment, Anthony diſſembled, and behaved to him with great friendſhip. By means of careſſes and promiſes he obtained winter quarters in Armenia; and when his troops were well eſtabliſhed he returned to Egypt, from which he wrote to Artuaſdes, begging him to come to him that they might concert the plan of operations for the next campaign. The latter entertaining a juſt diffidence, which unfortunately he did not carry far enough, replied that he could not leave his kingdom, being neceſſarily detained there by affairs of importance. Anthony, however, was not diſcouraged; he propoſed a marriage between Alexander, his ſon by Cleopatra, and the daughter of the king of Armenia. After a good deal of negotiation, Anthony rejoined his army, and renewed his requeſt that Artuaſdes would come and aſſiſt him with his counſels. Artuaſdes at length yielded, and having repaired to the camp, was immediately arreſted, and ob-

liged, in order to avoid more ſevere treatment, to point out the place where his treaſures were concealed. The Roman general ſeized on the riches; and dragged the unfortunate monarch, together with his wife and children, loaded with chains, to the feet of Cleopatra at Alexandria. He had ordered them to call her the queen of kings; but neither Artuaſdes, nor any of the priſoners of his nation, would ſalute her by that title. Anthony gave the crown of Armenia to his ſon Alexander; and beheaded Artuaſdes, who was thus juſtly puniſhed for his perfidy: an example which ought to be held up to ſuch perſons as truſt to thoſe whom they have cruelly deceived.

2567. The kings of Armenia became ſo inſignificant before the Roman generals, who governed the Eaſt, that they might have been conſidered as the mere phantoms of royalty. The emperors ſported with their ſceptre. Auguſtus cauſed Tigranes to be ſucceeded by his nephew Artuaſdes; but the Armenians expelled him, becauſe he was the choice of the Romans, whom they deteſted. He was reſtored by Caius, the adopted ſon of Auguſtus, who being obliged to abandon him gave Armenia to Ariobarzanes, at the deſire of the people. The country was afterwards ſubdued by the Parthians. Tiberius, in oppoſition to them, ſupported Mithridates Iberus, brother to Pharaſmenes the king of Iberia. Caligula overturned the throne of Mithridates, and had him brought to Rome in chains.

Claudius ſet him at liberty, and gave him troops to expel the Parthians, who had made themſelves maſters of his kingdom. In this enterprize he was powerfully ſupported by his brother Pharaſmenes; but he made him pay exceedingly dear for his ſervices.

Pharaſmenes had a ſon, a moſt promiſing young prince, poſſeſſed of great valour and courage. To theſe brilliant qualities he united an ambition, the effects of which were much dreaded by his father. As characters of this kind have need of ſome object to fix their attention, Pharaſmenes directed the ambition of his ſon towards Armenia: "That kingdom," ſaid he, "which I conquered from the "Parthians, I was wrong in conferring on my "brother Mithridates: it is to you, my ſon, that "it ought to belong." Pharaſmenes and Rhadamiſtus having concerted in what manner they could beſt accompliſh their object, gave out that a kind of diviſion had taken place between them. The ſon made complaints againſt his father, and the artifices of a mother-in-law, by whom he was haraſſed, and requeſted an aſylum from his uncle that he might live in tranquillity. The credulous Mithridates received this ſerpent, and foſtered him in his boſom. Rhadamiſtus employed his leiſure time in fomenting the diſcontent of ſome of the nobility, and in exciting them to rebellion. When every thing was arranged, he pretended that his

father had become reconciled to him, and returned home.

Under one of thoſe pretences which are never wanting on ſuch occaſions, Pharaſmenes entered Armenia, and, at the ſame time, the revolt broke out. Mithridates, in great diſtreſs, and imagining that he beheld none but traitors around him, ſhut himſelf up in a fortreſs, under the protection of a Roman garriſon. Rhadamiſtus laid ſiege to the place; and the uncle was obliged to come to a conference with his nephew without the walls. Rhadamiſtus ſwore by all the gods that he had nothing to fear, either from the ſword, or from poiſon. As there was a ſacred grove near the place of interview, the nephew enticed his uncle thither, that he might confirm his oath by the ceremonies uſual in Armenia, which conſiſted in tying together the thumbs of the contracting parties, pricking them, and cauſing them to ſuck each other's blood. At the moment when Mithridates preſented his hand to be tied, he was thrown down, and bound with the rope which was to have been employed in this religious rite. His family, who were preſent, were treated in the ſame manner. Pharaſmenes being informed of the ſucceſs of this treachery, repaired to his brother, reproached him for having prevented the Romans from aſſiſting him in a war againſt the Albanians, and, as a puniſhment for this pretended crime, condemned

him to death. Rhadamiſtus undertook to ſee this cruel ſentence carried into execution; but as he had guarantied his uncle, upon oath, from the ſword and from poiſon, he cauſed him to be ſuffocated before his eyes. The wife of Mithridates, the daughter of Pharaſmenes, and conſequently the ſiſter of Rhadamiſtus, with ſeveral of her children, were ſubjected to a like fate.

This act of barbarity did not remain unpuniſhed. Vologeſes, king of the Parthians, who pretended to ſome right over Armenia, having heard of the tragical death of Mithridates, and the troubles which were the conſequence of it, thought the moment favourable for aſſerting his claim. He gave the kingdom of Armenia to his brother Tiridates, and ſupported his preſent with an army, which he commanded in perſon. Rhadamiſtus badly defended his uſurpation; and, being driven by the king of the Parthians as far as Illyria, took ſhelter with his father. Some misfortunes which befel the army of Vologeſes, in conſequence of the inclemency of the climate, obliged him to abandon Armenia. Rhadamiſtus then returned; and being incenſed againſt the Armenians on account of their having abandoned him, governed with ſo much ſeverity that a ſecret conſpiracy was formed againſt him, and he was ſurpriſed in his palace. His guards were diſarmed before he knew any thing of the plot; and he had only time to mount his horſe and make his eſcape. Rhadamiſtus. Zenob.

His queen Zenobia, though ſome months pregnant, was unwilling to deſert him; but as her condition prevented her from proceeding with the ſame ſpeed, and being apprehenſive that ſhe might fall into the hands of her revolted ſubjects, ſhe begged Rhadamiſtus to put her to death. The barbarian, moved with a momentary compaſſion, endeavoured to revive the courage of the fugitive; but obſerving that ſhe wanted ſtrength, and being afraid to leave her in the poſſeſſion of any other, he wounded her with his ſword. As ſhe immediately fell, he dragged her to a neighbouring river, and abandoned her to her fate. Some ſhepherds who ſaw her floating on the water, where ſhe was ſupported by her clothse, drew her to the bank, and as ſhe was not dead, they dreſſed her wound. Tiridates ſent for her to his court, where ſhe was received with the greateſt honours; and ſhe, no doubt, had very little deſire of returning to her huſband, who is not farther mentioned in hiſtory.

The wars which followed preſent an almoſt inexplicable chaos of military expeditions and intrigues. In theſe the Romans acted the principal part; ſometimes as the aggreſſors, and ſometimes as auxiliaries: Romans ſometimes againſt Romans, like thoſe carnivorous animals who diſpute with each other for their prey. The unfortunate Armenians, haraſſed, plundered, and oppreſſed by avaricious protectors, and by neighbours no leſs

eager after booty, demanded a maſter from the emperors. Nero gave them Alexander, the grandſon of Herod king of Judea; but Tiridates, being ſtill ſupported by Vologeſes, did not abandon his pretenſions. He maintained himſelf with dignity againſt Corbulo when conqueror, and treated with reſpect Pætus though conquered. By this noble conduct he acquired the eſteem of the Romans. Nero abandoned Alexander, who was only the phantom of a king, and wiſhed to place with his own hands the crown on the head of Tiridates. This ceremony took place at Rome, with the greateſt magnificence. Tiridates rendered Armenia happy. His ſucceſſors were rather vaſſals of the empire than independent kings. Armenia, however, remained a kingdom, until Trajan united it to Meſopotamia, and converted it into a Roman province. During the decline of the empire it was governed by kings, dependent on Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors. The Armenians were ſubdued by the Saracens, then by the Turks, and afterwards by the Tartars. Under all theſe governments, traces of royalty were ſtill ſeen in Armenia. Some were even ſeen under the Perſians, who occaſioned a dreadful depopulation of the country by tranſporting a great number of Armenians to Zulpha, the ſuburbs of Iſpahan their capital. They have divided the kingdom with the Turks, who call their part Turcomania; but even till our days,

kings or princes have appeared in Armenia to moleſt the invading deſpots.

In regard to Armenia the Leſs, the moſt fertile and agreeable of the two, which abounds with fruit, oil, and wines highly eſteemed, it has never been long ſeparated from the greater. After having three kings, the ſucceſſors of Zadriades, it found itſelf involved in the misfortunes of Armenia the Greater; abandoned, like it, to the depredations of neighbouring kings, or of the Romans, who diſputed for it with each other. Pompey, when at the height of his power, gave it to Dejotarus king of Galatia. The grateful acknowledgement which the monarch owed to that general, induced him to eſpouſe his party in the war againſt Cæſar. The latter pardoned him at the requeſt of Brutus; and when this Roman had put to death the dictator, Dejotarus ſent troops to his murderers. The triumvirs made him pay by a large fine and the loſs of ſome provinces, for his attachment to the unſucceſsful party. He maintained himſelf, however, with dignity amidſt the contending factions, being the intimate friend of Cicero, and yet reſpected by Octavianus. Dejotarus attained to a great age. His family became extinct in his ſon, by whom he was ſucceeded. The crown, both of Armenia and Galatia, came to the children of the ſiſter of the latter; then to a king of Media; afterwards to a king of Pontus, to

princes of Cappadocia and Boſporus, to Ariſtobulus the grand-ſon of Herod the Great, to Tigranes, and under Veſpaſian the country became a Roman province. It was attached to the empire of the eaſt, and afterwards to that of the Perſians. It was taken from the latter by the Turks, who ſtill poſſeſs it under the name of Genech.

Pontus.

Pontus, between the Pontus Euxinus, Armenia the Leſs, Colchis, and the river Halys.

Pontus contains ſeveral places celebrated in hiſtory, both ancient and modern. Amaſia, built on the Iris, admits the largeſt veſſels to approach cloſe to the walls. It was formerly the reſidence appointed for the eldeſt ſon of the grand-ſeignior. Sebaſtia ſuſpended the conqueſts of Tamerlane; but it was puniſhed for its reſiſtance by the death of twelve thouſand of its inhabitants, whom the barbarian cauſed to be buried alive. The Thermodon has ſeen its ſhores inhabited by the Amazons, who invented the battle-ax. The city of Ceraſus ſent us the firſt cherries. The tree that bears them grows naturally in the foreſts, from which it was tranſplanted. The honey of Pontus deranges the brain of thoſe who are in good health, and reſtores inſane perſons to reaſon. This remark is made by Ariſtotle. Xenophon, the Grecian general, who commanded the ten thouſand, experienced by the illneſs of his ſoldiers that the uſe of this honey was dangerous. It threw them into a kind of intoxication, or phrenzy. They

were, however, cured, and recovered their ſenſes. In the laſt place, Trebiſond, which is ſtill a commercial and opulent city, was the reſidence of the emperors of the houſe of Comnenus. The air of this country is excellent. As the inhabitants had a great deal of ſea-coaſt, the principal object of their adoration was Neptune. They ſent him every year four white horſes, which they cauſed to be drowned in the ſea.

Kings. The ſeries of the kings of Pontus begins at Artabazus, a Perſian, who is ſuppoſed to have been placed on the throne by Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. After him reigned nine princes, almoſt all of his family, named Mithridates, or Pharnaces, who were engaged in war, ſometimes as conquerors, and ſometimes conquered, till Mithridates VI. who was aſſaſſinated by his favourites. He had been a very affectionate ally of the Romans. Neither offers nor promiſes could induce him to abandon the cauſe of the republic, at a time when all the princes of Aſia had declared againſt it. The ſenate, out of gratitude, gave him Phrygia the Greater; but it afterwards took that country from his ſon Mithridates VII. whom he left a minor. This was the great Mithridates, the implacable enemy of the Romans, who carried on war againſt them during forty-ſix years, and occaſioned more loſs to the republic than Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and all the kings of Syria and Macedonia together.

By his conduct when a young man, it was eaſy to conjecture what he would become at a future period. Having been placed under the guardianſhip of his mother, who kept him in a ſtate of great reſtraint, he afterwards occaſioned her death by confining her in priſon. His governors, apprehending his cruel character, made him one day mount a horſe ſo intractable that it was thought impoſſible to break him; but he managed the animal with ſo much addreſs that he ſoon tamed him. Mithridates ſpent whole months in hunting, in order to harden his conſtitution; ſlept at night on the bare ground, and often amidſt the ſnow. It is ſaid that he accuſtomed himſelf to poiſons in ſuch a manner, that the moſt violent kinds made no impreſſion on him. This fact will ſcarcely be credited by thoſe acquainted with the ſtructure of the human body, and the delicacy of its fibres and membranes. One might rather believe that he prevented the activity of poiſons by ſome antidote taken before he ſwallowed them. He uſed, as is ſuppoſed, that famous remedy called from his name Mithridate, of which he is ſaid to have been the inventor. Mithridates, 2900.

Mithridates, according to the eaſtern cuſtom, eſpouſed his ſiſter Laodice, and left her, ſometime after his marriage, to traverſe the different ſtates of the continent of Aſia, which he viſited, attended by a ſmall retinue, in order to obſerve the cuſtoms of the inhabitants, and to ſtudy their

laws. He learned, at the ſame time, twenty-two languages, and acquired an accurate idea of their forces. This tour laſted three years. A report being in the mean time propagated that he was dead, Laodice, who had conceived a paſſion for one of the noblemen of her court, readily ſuffered herſelf to be perſuaded that her huſband was no longer in exiſtence. She brought forth a ſon during his abſence; and the beſt means ſhe could find to conceal her fault, or ſecure impunity, were to preſent to Mithridates a poiſoned draught. It however produced no effect; and the king being certain of her double perfidy, put her to death with all the accomplices of her infamy.

Soon after, he began to put in execution his grand projects. He invaded Paphlagonia, which he divided with Nicomedes, king of Bythinia, his ally and neighbour. The Romans being offended that he ſhould ſeize on a country ſubject to their dominion, he replied to their ambaſſadors, that Paphlagonia belonged to him by the right of inheritance: "Beſides," added he, "I do not ſee "why the republic ſhould interfere in the quar- "rels which take place between the princes of "Aſia." They threatened him with a war; but inſtead of returning an anſwer, he took poſſeſſion of Galatia, which was alſo under their protection. He then turned his views to Cappadocia, the ſovereign of which, named Ariarthes, was his brother-in-law, and conſidered as his intimate friend.

But is there any thing ſacred to the ambitious? Mithridates cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by a worthleſs wretch named Gordius. Nicomedes, king of Bythinia, thinking to profit by this crime, entered Cappadocia, expelled from the throne the ſon of the deceaſed king, and, having taken poſſeſſion of it, married the widow.

Mithridates, the murderer of his friend, treated this action as a horrible crime. He took up arms in favour of the orphan, whoſe father had been privately put to death by his orders, and replaced his nephew on the throne. It was only with reluctance, and to ſave appearances, that he performed this act of juſtice. Cappadocia was always the object of his ambition; but his deſigns were interrupted by the abſence of Gordius, who had been baniſhed on account of his crime. The king of Pontus exhorted his nephew to recal the aſſaſſin of his father. As the young man ſeemed unwilling to comply with this propoſal, Mithridates collected an army of ninety thouſand men; but he found the king of Cappadocia on his guard, and equally ſtrong as himſelf. As the fate of a battle was uncertain, Mithridates employed a much ſurer and more expeditious method to accompliſh his end. He requeſted to have a conference with his nephew between the two armies. The prince repaired to the appointed place, without any ſuſpicion, and the uncle ſtabbed him with a poniard which he had concealed between the folds of his

robe. This horrid action ſpread ſo much terror among the Cappadocians that they threw down their arms, and the king of Pontus found no difficulty to get poſſeſſion of the kingdom. He gave the ſovereignty of it to one of his ſons, who was very young, under the tutorſhip of the infamous Gordius. He ſeized alſo on the throne of Bythinia, which had been left vacant by the death of Nicomedes.

The Romans having begun to be uneaſy reſpecting the aggrandizement of the king of Pontus, their generals, after concerting together, inveſted his kingdom; but he broke their line, and throwing into diſorder thoſe by whom he was ſurrounded, ſpread himſelf like a torrent in the countries occupied by the Romans, and compelled them to evacuate Phrygia, Mœſia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphilia, Paphlagonia, and Bythinia. Wherever he went he was ſtyled by the people, who ſeemed much pleaſed with the change, their father and deliverer; a divinity, the ſole monarch of Aſia. He cauſed the proconſul Oppius to be brought to him loaded with irons, and preceded in that ſtate by his lictors, in order to ridicule the Roman pride. Aquilius, another Roman commander, againſt whom he thought he had cauſe of complaint, as having excited Cappadocia to revolt, was ſubjected to a puniſhment, in which cruelty was added to deriſion. He cauſed him to be led about, mounted on an aſs, or tied by the foot to a public male-

factor. In this ſtate he was forced to cry out: "I am Manius Aquilius." When he arrived at Pergamus, he ordered him to be ſcourged, and then put to the rack. At laſt, melted gold was poured into his mouth, to reproach him, as well as the other Roman generals, for their inſatiable avarice, which ſwallowed up all the riches of Aſia.

This was a prelude to the fate which Mithridates deſtined for all the Romans. He thought that none of the ſtates which he had conquered could be in ſafety, as long as one of them remained in the country. He conſidered them as ſo many ſpies ſent by the republic to watch his motions, and his treatment of them was ſuch as ſuited that character. He ſent ſecret orders to all the governors and magiſtrates of the cities of Aſia Minor, to cauſe to be maſſacred on a certain day, which he mentioned, all the Romans, with their wives, children, and domeſtics. He forbade them to be buried: and all their property was to be divided into two parts, one for the king, and the other for the aſſaſſins. Mithridates promiſed liberty to ſlaves who ſhould murder their maſters, and to all debtors who ſhould kill their creditors the remiſſion of one half the ſum they owed. At the ſame time, he declared that whoever concealed the proſcribed, under any pretence whatever, ſhould be immediately puniſhed with death.

When the day of horror and trouble arrived,

the gates of the cities were ſhut, ſoldiers were poſted at all the paſſages, and the orders of the king being publiſhed, the greateſt conſternation was ſpread, not only among the Romans, but among ſuch of the inhabitants as retained any ſentiments of humanity. As the Romans, however, by their pride and avarice had brought upon themſelves the hatred of the Aſiatics, and as the deſire of vengeance was ſtrengthened by the hope of gain, the king's orders were punctually executed; and Aſia, in one day, became the bloody theatre of the moſt dreadful carnage. Among the inſtances of cruelty which excite horror, we can mention none more barbarous than that of ſome Caunians, to whom the Romans, a little before, had done various acts of kindneſs. They were ſo inhuman as to torture children in the preſence of their mothers. Some of them died through exceſs of pain, and others loſt the uſe of their ſenſes. All hiſtorians almoſt make the number of the Romans, who were maſſacred that day, to amount to a hundred and fifty thouſand men; and the moſt moderate to eighty thouſand. Thoſe who execute ſuch plans are, no doubt, deteſtable; but what are we to think of the monſters by whom they are deviſed, and who calmly calculate their effects? Unfortunate is that nation which produces them.

This maſſacre gave riſe to a multitude of others. The repriſals were terrible. They proceeded from

Fimbria and Sylla: Sylla, who never knew pity, and Fimbria, an adverſary worthy of Mithridates by his talents and cruelty. Being the foreign agent of the enemies of Sylla, who were in Rome, he attacked the king of Pontus, gained a battle, and obliged him to fly. He was even very near taking him priſoner. Mithridates retired to a city, where he was beſieged by the conqueror; but the latter was not able to inveſt the place by ſea for want of ſhips. He wrote, therefore, to the general who commanded the Roman fleet; but as he belonged to the party of Sylla, he was unwilling to contribute to the triumph of the oppoſite party. Mithridates took advantage of this miſunderſtanding, and made his eſcape. His generals were ſucceſsful in ſeveral places; but they experienced alſo ſevere defeats. All theſe events were accompanied with horrid maſſacres: the inhabitants of towns, and whole armies ſlaughtered; provinces laid waſte with fire; nations expelled from their native land, wandering and diſperſed victims to the vengeance of a haughty republic, and the fury of a monarch obſtinately bent on ſuffering none of the Romans to remain around him. It was, however, agreed that ſome relaxation ſhould be given to the unfortunate people.

Mithridates, who had been the greateſt ſufferer, becauſe he loſt his fleet, commanded by Archelaus, and a hundred and ten thouſand men, commanded by Taxiles, made overtures of peace to Peace, 2914.

Sylla. The Roman conſented to treat, and the negotiators agreed on the terms; but before they were ratified, the king of Pontus requeſted an interview with the general. When they met, the monarch advanced to embrace Sylla, but the haughty Roman ſtepped back, and aſked him whether he accepted all the conditions. The monarch replied that he accepted them, with ſome explanation. Sylla naturally had a fierce look, and when he heard the word explanation, ſymptoms of the moſt violent anger were diſplayed in his countenance. Mithridates was frightened, and agreed to every thing required. Sylla then approached, and ſuffered himſelf to be embraced. From the ſcene of peace, which was more honourable to him than the field of victory, Sylla haſtened to attack Fimbria, who was abandoned by his ſoldiers. In this extremity, belying his uſual generoſity, he attempted to get his enemy put to death; but the aſſaſſin being diſconcerted, at the moment when about to ſtrike the fatal blow, was arreſted. Notwithſtanding this treachery, Sylla made propoſals; and Fimbria ſeeing no alternative but that of yielding, or hazarding a battle, ſaid: "I know a much "more ſimple method of ſparing human blood;" and immediately ran himſelf through with his ſword, and expired.

The imperious conditions preſcribed to Mithridates were not of ſuch a nature as to be faithfully obſerved by that prince. He loſt whole provinces;

ſacrificed a great part of his navy; and condeſcended to ſee himſelf ſurrounded by Romans, thoſe enemies whom he had ſo cruelly offended; who had avenged themſelves in ſo haughty a manner, and from whom he could expect nothing but the ſame hatred as that which he had ſworn to them in the bottom of his heart. This peace, therefore, was merely a truce, in order to take breath, and recommence the war with more vigour. The king of Pontus firſt attacked the people of Colchis, who had declared againſt him. They ſubmitted, and requeſted his ſon for their king. Mithridates complied with their deſire; but he diſcovered that when they took up arms againſt him, it was at the inſtigation of the ſame ſon who entertained hopes of profiting by their revolt. Though this prince had been of great ſervice to him in the laſt war, he cauſed him to be bound with gold chains, and condemned him to death.

By the great preparations which Mithridates made, both by land and by ſea, it was eaſy for the Romans to perceive that he would not long ſuffer them to enjoy in peace the ſpoils which they had wreſted from him. They were even informed of his plans by Archelaus, his ancient admiral, whom the monarch blamed for the humiliating terms of the treaty of peace, to which he had been obliged to ſubmit. Archelaus, knowing the ſeverity of Mithridates, did not think proper to

wait for the effects of his anger. He deserted to the Romans, and explained to them the projects of the king of Pontus. Among the resources which the monarch hoped would be favourable to his views, he depended not a little on the troubles occasioned at Rome by the factions of Marius and Sylla. He, indeed, received in his army Marcus Marius, who had been sent to him from Spain by Sertorius. This Roman, when he appeared, was preceded by lictors, as if he had been consul, and assumed the title of commander in chief. The king of Pontus, less jealous of honour than of profit, suffered this pomp, which procured him assistance from the nations subject to the republic, to whom he shewed the Roman eagle united to his own standards.

Lucullus, afterwards so famous by his riches, was sent against Mithridates, and in a battle which the latter gained, he was wounded by a Roman whom he had in his army. After his cure, the king of Pontus collected all the Romans in his service, formed them into one body, and then caused them to be massacred. He never performed but one act of clemency in favour of a Roman. This man, whose name was Pomponius, having been taken prisoner by his soldiers, the king, when he was brought before him, being desirous to put his firmness to the test, asked, whether if he granted him life, he could flatter himself with the hope of obtaining his friendship: "Yes,"

replied Pomponius, "if you become the friend of "the Romans; but if you continue to make war "upon them, you can entertain no ſuch hope." Being little accuſtomed to expect acts of indulgence from their maſter, the courtiers were preparing to maſſacre Pomponius, but Mithridates checking their fury, ſaid: "Learn to reſpect va- "lour, though unfortunate."

We muſt feel for the fate of the people, when we ſee to what calamities they are expoſed by the alternate defeats and victories of the ambitious who have choſen for the theatre of war the countries they inhabit: conquered one day by the one party, and recovered the next by the other, in changing maſters they are only ſubjected to new plunderers and executioners. The unfortunate provinces of Aſia experienced too often this melancholy fate. The cities of Cyzicum, Amiſus, and Heraclea were expoſed to the horrors of famine, and became a prey to the flames. The waters of the Halys and the Thermodon were tinged with blood; and more than two hundred years after, the ploughſhare turned up the cuiraſſes, helmets, and, ſwords of the ſoldiers who had been buried in the plains.

It is worthy of remark, that Lucullus and Mithridates, in this war, were reduced to the ſame extremities; being badly obeyed by their ſoldiers, who ſometimes refuſed their ſervice on important occaſions, and ſometimes even deſerted. The moſt

aſtoniſhing misfortune was the deſertion of the whole army of Mithridates'. As the troops imagined that they were going to be abandoned by their chief, they abandoned him. He was in danger of loſing his life by attempting to undeceive them; and he had no other reſource than flight. Being hard preſſed by Lucullus, and ſeeing himſelf every moment on the point of being taken, he ſcattered on the road, money, plate, and other articles of value, ſo that the ſoldiers, intent on collecting theſe riches, ſlackened their purſuit, which he ſuſpended entirely, by throwing in the way of the foremoſt body, a mule loaded with gold and ſilver. While they were ſharing the booty, the king of Pontus had time to get beyond their reach. He had left his wives, ſiſters, and concubines, in a city named Pharnacia; and for fear that they ſhould fall into the hands of the Romans, he ſent Bacchides, one of his eunuchs, with orders to put them to death. The barbarian preſented to them ropes, poiſon, and ſwords. The beautiful Monima, one of his wives, whom he had married againſt her will, attempted to ſtrangle herſelf with the bands of her diadem: "Fatal bandage," ſaid ſhe, "be at leaſt uſeful by aſſiſting me to die." Her deſire being fruſtrated by the bandage breaking, ſhe immediately preſented her boſom to the murderous ſword. Another of his wives, named Berenice, and two of his ſiſters, Roxana and Statira, ſwallowed poiſon. Roxana, with the cup at her

lips, curſed the cruelty of her brother, and loaded him with maledictions. Statira, on the other hand, deſired the eunuch to thank him, becauſe, being himſelf expoſed to the greateſt dangers, he had taken means to ſave them from the brutality of the ſoldiers.

Mithridates retired to his father in-law Tigranes, in Armenia. Pompey, to whom the direction of this war was entruſted by the ſenate, in the room of Lucullus, made overtures of peace to the king of Pontus; one of the principal conditions of which was, that he ſhould deliver up the Roman deſerters. The latter, being alarmed at this propoſal, threatened Mithridates if he complied; but the haughty monarch was far from accepting theſe terms. In a ſolemn aſſembly he aſſured them, with the moſt terrible oaths, that while he had breath in his body he would never think of forming any alliance with the Romans. He then reſumed the war, which was carried on with the moſt obſtinate fury; but which, however, on account of Pompey's generoſity, was leſs ruinous to the people than the preceding.

Two battles were ſufficient to enable that general to diſconcert all the plans of Mithridates, who was expelled from the kingdom of Pontus. Pompey got poſſeſſion of his moſt important cities, his treaſures, and his records, where he found valuable information reſpecting his riches, the amount of his taxes, the manner of collecting

them, and the mode of his raiſing troops. Several of his wives and concubines, who for the moſt part were the daughters of the nobility of his court, being preſented to the conqueror, he treated them with reſpect, and ſent them back to their relations. One of them, named Stratonice, delivered up to the Romans the fortreſs of Symphori, and the treaſures it contained, demanding only the life of her ſon, Xiphares, who was with his father, in caſe he ſhould happen to fall into the hands of Pompey. The latter promiſed to comply with her requeſt; and being always generous, made a preſent of the treaſures to Stratonice, and kept only the citadel.

The Romans were far from believing that Mithridates, or any of thoſe by whom he was accompanied, would ever again appear. The monarch was no more ſpoken of, and no one knew what had become of him. The uncertainty reſpecting his fate laſted two years, during which he concealed himſelf in the territories of a Scythian prince, whoſe ſtates bordered on the Palus Mæotis. In this retreat, he watched for a favourable moment to return to his kingdom. His meaſures were ſo well concerted, and with ſo great ſecrecy, that the Romans were not informed of his arrival, till he appeared at the head of a formidable army. At firſt, he advanced againſt the fortreſs of Symphori. Stratonice, who had given it up on condition of her ſon being ſaved, ſaw from the top of the walls

the unfortunate Xiphares, abandoned by his father to the executioners, and subjected to a cruel death.

Mithridates then sent messengers to Pompey, with proposals of peace: "Tigranes," replied the Roman general, "came to demand peace in per-" son." "I will die," returned Mithridates, "rather than submit to such humiliation." At that moment he conceived the bold project of wresting the empire of the universe from the Romans. He endeavoured to excite enemies against them among the Scythians; sent emissaries to all the princes of Asia, and particularly the king of the Parthians; and formed a league with the Gauls, whom he knew to be at war with the republic. He intended to traverse Scythia and Pannonia, in order to repair to Gaul, that he might join his army to that which he hoped would be there ready to co-operate with him, and then to fall on Italy together, and astonish the republic by the boldness of their operations.

Multiplied obstacles opposed the success of this project, which appeared gigantic; but which, after what had been done by Hannibal, gave reason to hope for its success. Unfortunately, four of the sons of Mithridates, whose valour might have been of great use to him, were delivered up to the Romans by treachery, and several of his daughters, whom he sent to Scythia to marry Scythian princes, in order to gain them over to his party, experienced the like fate. In the last place, Pharnaces, who of all

his children he loved moſt, and for whom he intended the crown, made his army revolt, and overturned the projects of his father by the moſt odious perfidy.

1935. It appears that this meaſure was concerted with the Romans, who had employed emiſſaries to excite diſcontent in the army. They repreſented to the ſoldiers the danger of ſuch an expedition, the leaſt riſk of which was to be deprived of the means of ever again ſeeing their country. The officers alſo had perſonal complaints againſt the king, who, they ſaid, conſulted only ſlaves and abject flatterers; and who had become cruel and inſupportable to thoſe who did not ſervilely enter into his views, or who dared to tell him the truth. He had indeed puniſhed with death the ſincerity of one of his ſons, named Exipodras, for having given his opinion with the frankneſs of a ſoldier, reſpecting the intended expedition.

A little time before the day fixed for his departure, Mithridates, whoſe army was encamped under the walls of a city, where he had taken up his quarters, was awakened early in the morning by a confuſed noiſe, which ſeemed to come from the camp. Having ſent one of his ſervants to enquire into the cauſe, he was told, without ceremony, that the army, incenſed at ſeeing themſelves conducted by a decrepid king, abandoned to the counſels of vile eunuchs, had proclaimed one younger, who was entitled to their whole confi-

dence. On this intelligence, Mithridates imagining that it was only a mere tumult, which would be quelled by his preſence, mounted his horſe, and ſet out, accompanied by his guards; but he had ſcarcely got without the walls when they abandoned him: they diſcharged their weapons at him, and his horſe being killed, he had no other reſource than to return to the city. His friends adviſed him to demand from Pharnaces a guard of ſafety for himſelf, and for them. He complied with their requeſt; but the envoys he diſpatched for that purpoſe were either maſſacred, or having joined in the revolt did not return.

Mithridates, however, did not deſpair, and made another attempt. He aſcended the ramparts, and addreſſing himſelf to Pharnaces, reminded him, in the moſt impreſſive manner, of the affection he had always ſhewn to him, in preference to his brothers, and how much he had diſtinguiſhed him by his favours. He endeavoured, at the ſame time, to make him ſenſible of the indignity it would be to abandon him, without defence, to the Romans, his cruel enemies; and requeſted that he would, at leaſt, give him a ſafe paſſage, that he might go in queſt of an aſylum to which he could retire. But this moving ſcene made no impreſſion on the heart of Pharnaces. The unfortunate monarch then finding his condition deſperate, raiſed his eyes bathed in tears towards heaven, and loaded his ſon with imprecations: "May the gods,"

ſaid he, when he concluded, " make you one day " experience the perfidy of an unnatural ſon, and " the torments which ſuch ingratitude muſt oc- " caſion to a father." Then turning to thoſe around him, he thanked them for their attachment, and adviſed them to give way to the circumſtances of the moment, and to acknowledge his ſon: " As for me," ſaid he, " being incapable " of living in that ſtate of humiliation into which " I am plunged by a ſon whom I tenderly loved, " I ſhall find means to ſave myſelf from his fatal " plots."

After this melancholy farewel he entered the apartment of his women, took a poiſoned cup, and having drank the liquor, made his daughters, Niſſa and Mithridatis, who were on the eve of marrying, one the king of Cyprus, and the other that of Egypt, follow his example. He preſented the fatal cup alſo to all his concubines, and a moment was ſufficient to plunge them into the ſleep of death. As for him, being familiarized from his infancy to the uſe of poiſons, what he had ſwallowed produced no effect, ſo that he was at laſt obliged to ſtab himſelf with his ſword. The wound was not mortal, and Pharnaces, when informed of the event, gave orders that it ſhould be dreſſed; with a view, as is ſaid, of delivering him up to the Romans, and of gaining their favour by this preſent; but he did not enjoy that unworthy ſatisfaction. A ſoldier, named Bithocus, who had en-

tered the palace with the hope of plunder, made his way to the apartment where Mithridates lay weltering in his blood, abandoned by every body, and ſtruggling with death. Struck by the air of grandeur which ſtill appeared in the perſon of the monarch, he was going to retire; but Mithridates called him, and conjured him to put an end to that exiſtence which only prolonged his misfortunes. Bithocus rendered him this laſt ſervice; but being ſuddenly ſeized with a ſenſibility very uncommon in a ſoldier, he departed, filled with the moſt melancholy ideas, and without thinking of the booty which he had come in queſt of.

Such was the end of Mithridates. He poſſeſſed all thoſe admirable qualities which form a great king; but diſgraceful vices, and particularly cruelty, leſſened the ſplendour of virtues, by which he ought to have been immortalized. The victories which he gained, give him a diſtinguiſhed rank among the moſt celebrated generals of antiquity, though he often experienced very ſevere defeats. He ſeveral times ſaw his armies cut to pieces, his fortreſſes raſed, and his ſtates ravaged; but as if his ſtrength had been revived by his loſſes, he appeared always in the field much more formidable than before. In a word, notwithſtanding all the efforts of his enemies to get him into their poſſeſſion, he voluntarily put himſelf to death in his own kingdom, and left it to his deſcendants.

The moſt unequivocal proof of the merit of this

prince, is the univerſal joy of the Roman people and army when they heard of his death. A courier diſpatched by Pharnaces brought the intelligence to Pompey, who was then at the diſtance of ſome days' journey. Being impatient to communicate the news to his ſoldiers, the latter did not wait till they had conſtructed for him a mount of turf to harangue from, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, but ordered them to form one in great haſte with their ſaddles. The army received the intelligence with the moſt lively demonſtrations of joy, which they expreſſed by feaſts, dances, and ſacrifices. At Rome the people ſeemed to be no leſs overjoyed at the event. Cicero, who was then conſul, ordered a thankſgiving of twelve days to the immortal gods, for having delivered the republic from an enemy ſo powerful and formidable. The tribunes alſo cauſed a decree to be paſſed, that Pompey, as a grateful return for the ſervices he had rendered in this war, ſhould be authorized to wear a crown of laurel at the Circenſian games, and a purple gown at the ſcenical plays.

The baſe Pharnaces, not being able to deliver his father alive into Pompey's hands, ſent him the body preſerved in brine, together with his rich armour. All the officers, as well as the common ſoldiers, flocked to ſee the king's body; but Pompey was ſo affected by the ſpectacle that he averted his eyes, and ſaid, that all enmity between that

great prince and the Roman people was now at an end. He ordered the body to be buried with great magnificence in the tomb belonging to the kings of Pontus. Several princes were desirous to obtain pieces of the monarch's armour, and purchased them at a very high price. His turban fell into the hands of a Roman, whose descendants preserved it a long time as a valuable inheritance.

The treasures which Pharnaces delivered to Pompey, or which he pointed out to him and suffered him to take, afforded matter of surprise to the Roman general, and a plain catalogue of the principal articles would even astonish the reader. In the city of Talaura, which Mithridates called his wardrobe, were found two thousand cups of onyx, set in gold and silver, and such a number of saddles and bridles, enriched with diamonds, that the commissioners of the republic were employed thirty-one days in making out a list of them. In another castle there were three large tables, with nine salvers of massy gold, set with precious stones of great value; the statues of Mars, Minerva, and Apollo, of pure gold and curious workmanship; and a pair of gaming tables of two precious stones, three feet broad, and four feet long, on which was a moon of gold weighing thirty pounds, with their men, all of the same precious stone. A fortress in the mountains contained a statue of the king, eight cubits high, made of massy gold, together with his throne and sceptre, and the bed of Darius,

the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. The greater part of theſe valuable articles was tranſmitted from hand to hand by pillage; from Syria to Egypt, and from Egypt to Greece. Beſides what he had acquired by plunder, Mithridates, who was not deſtitute of taſte, and who was fond of magnificence, had collected from all quarters during a long reign an immenſe quantity of curious objects of every kind. They ſerved to ornament the triumph of Pompey, which laſted two days. Five ſons and two daughters of Mithridates were exhibited publicly on that occaſion, with three hundred and ſeventeen captives of the firſt quality. Pompey was maſter of their lives; and though ſome generals, in the like ſituation, had made a cruel uſe of this right, he ſent them all back to their country except the king's children, who were detained at Rome.

Pharnaces, 2936.

He adopted this meaſure, perhaps, that he might not give umbrage to Pharnaces, who behaved with the moſt ſervile complacency to the Romans; and who declared that he would not aſſume the title of king until he ſhould obtain their permiſſion. Notwithſtanding this meanneſs he obtained only a very ſmall part of the ſtates of his father, under the name of the kingdom of Boſporus. Though humble before thoſe who were ſtronger, as he had formerly been before his father Mithridates, he had ſtill ſufficient courage to engage in war. He took advantage of the civil diſſenſions at Rome, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of

Armenia and Cappadocia. At that time Cæſar was engaged in Egypt; and Pharnaces knew that the dictator would be called to Africa by urgent buſineſs as ſoon as he had got rid of his expedition to Alexandria. For this reaſon he endeavoured to amuſe him with propoſals of peace; but Cæſar having put himſelf at the head of a thouſand cavalry, appeared at a moment when he was leaſt expected; fell upon the ſoldiers of Pharnaces, crying out, "Shall not ſuch a barbarous parricide be "puniſhed!" and obtained a complete victory. It was upon this occaſion that he wrote to his friends the following celebrated words: "I came, "I ſaw, I conquered."

Pharnaces eſcaped, and ſhut himſelf up in a citadel, where he was beſieged by Domitius, Cæſar's lieutenant-general. He offered to capitulate, on condition of being ſuffered to retire into Boſporus with thoſe who might chooſe to accompany him. This demand was granted; but the Roman general cauſed all the king's horſes to be killed, as he had aſked a ſafe-conduct only for his horſemen. He then retired on foot to Scythia, where he collected ſome troops who inſpired him with hopes, and he even ventured to attack Aſander, whom the Romans had inveſted with his kingdom; but he periſhed in the battle. After Pharnaces, the kingdom of Pontus, diſmembered and re-united, according to the will or caprice of republican factions, and afterwards of the empe-

rors, was given in ſucceſſion to ſeveral chiefs, ſome of whom are ſcarcely worthy of the name of kings. We find under Caligula a certain Polemon, who on hearing of the beauty of Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa, king of the Jews, cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed, in order to obtain her in marriage. His converſion from idolatry to Judaiſm had ſo little effect on his morals that his ſpouſe abandoned him, being diſguſted with his debaucheries. Under Veſpaſian, Pontus became irrevocably a Roman province. It emerged from its obſcurity after the cruſades, under the Comneni, who eſtabliſhed there the empire of Trebiſond. Mahomet II. overturned this throne, and added to the Turkiſh empire Trebiſond and the kingdom of Pontus. It would be in vain to ſeek now for objects worthy of attention in the ruins which cover theſe countries, inhabited for the moſt part by deſcendants of the degenerate Greeks of the middle ages.

CAPPADOCIA.

Cappadocia, between Pontus, Lycaonia, Armenia the Leſs, Galatia and the Euphrates.

Cappadocia, like Pontus, formed part of the empire of Trebiſond; and, like Pontus, it is at preſent ſunk in barbarity; that is to ſay, as deſtitute of arts and ſciences as when it came from the hands of nature, except that inſtead of being covered with foreſts it is ſtrewed with the ruins of cities, by which it was once decorated. The moſt remarkable of thoſe ſtill exiſting are Cæſarea, which was the capital, and is ſtill diſtinguiſhed by

its commerce; and Comana, where there was a magnificent temple dedicated to Bellona. Six thouſand perſons of both ſexes were ſet apart for the worſhip of that goddeſs; and the high-prieſt was generally choſen from the royal family. He was lord of the whole ſurrounding country, and his dignity made him the ſecond perſon in the ſtate. Next to him was the high-prieſt of Jupiter, who had under his command three thouſand people, with a certain diſtrict, and a ſuitable revenue. It is not known what rank was enjoyed between theſe two by the high-prieſt of Diana, who in power, riches, luxury, pomp, and magnificence, equalled the firſt lords of the kingdom. Oaths were adminiſtered, and ſuch engagements as people wiſhed to render valid, were ratified in his temple. Theſe different eſtabliſhments ſhew that the worſhip of the heathen deities was an affair of importance among the Cappadocians. It appears that their religion was a mixture of that of the Greeks and that of the Perſians, whom they held a long time under their dominion. Attachment, however, to the ſplendour of religious ceremonies, is not always the ſign of internal reformation; ſince at the time even when theſe ſumptuous eſtabliſhments exiſted, that is to ſay, at the period when the country was conquered by the Romans, Cappadocian was a term of reproach which implied a man void of morality or religion. The country, too much interſected by mountains to

be generally fertile, is not deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life. The Cappadocian horſes have, at all times, been highly eſteemed, and are ſtill a conſiderable article of trade. It is not known what has become of the mines of ſilver, alum, copper, and iron, which were found here, nor of the alabaſter, cryſtal, and jaſper, which the inhabitants exchanged with their neighbours.

The kings of Cappadocia are traced back to Pharnaces, on whom Cyrus conferred this ſmall kingdom, out of gratitude for his having ſaved him from being torn to pieces by a lion, during a hunting excurſion. The weakneſs of theſe monarchs rendered them an eaſy conqueſt. The ſtronger often conſider contradiction as an inſult. Hence it happened that the efforts made by ſome of the Cappadocian kings to free themſelves from oppreſſion, were treated as acts of rebellion, and as ſuch puniſhed. Perdiccas, one of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, had the barbarity to crucify Ariarathes II. and all the princes of the blood royal, whom he had taken in a battle. An infant, who eſcaped from the maſſacre, aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, and was the father of Ariaramnes II. whoſe reign was rendered illuſtrious, neither by battles nor conqueſts, but by his love of juſtice, and a thouſand other noble qualities which made him highly-eſteemed. He was beloved by all the neighbouring princes, and reſpected as a father. Cappadocia was never ſo flouriſhing as under his

adminiſtration. The peace which he always maintained with other kings, brought into his ſtates all thoſe bleſſings with which it is uſually attended.

After having borne the yoke of the Perſians, the petty kings of Cappadocia groaned under that of the Romans. Ariarathes VI. for ſome ſervices which had been rendered to him by the republic, ſent to Rome a golden crown. The ſenate ſent back a chair of ivory, the moſt diſtinguiſhed preſent it ever made, and which it never granted but to its moſt conſtant and zealous friends. It is a piece of praiſe-worthy addreſs to be able to attach a great value in the public opinion to things of little moment.

Ariarathes VI. was killed in the ſervice of the 2342.
Romans, and left ſix children under the guardianſhip of Laodice their mother. As they grew up ſhe deſtroyed them by poiſon, that ſhe might retain her authority. This crime was diſcovered when only one of them remained, and the cruel and unnatural mother was maſſacred by the people. Ariarathes VII. did not long eſcape the fate deſtined for this unfortunate family. Mithridates, his father-in-law, cauſed him to be poiſoned by the worthleſs Gordius, and killed his ſon with his own hand during an interview. After the tragical death of Ariarathes VIII. the Romans were deſirous of reſtoring to the Cappadocians what they called liberty; that is to ſay, to give them a republican form of government; but they replied that they

could not do without a king. This declaration appeared very ſtrange to the ſenate; yet they allowed them to chooſe for themſelves. They had the prudence, however, to ſelect one agreeable to the Romans, named Ariobarzanes. This prince governed them a long time in peace; and in his life-time reſigned the crown to his ſon, that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquillity. If he was killed, as ſome authors ſay, without having been avenged by his ſon, we might claſs him among thoſe princes who have had cauſe to repent of their abdication.

Archelaus, the laſt king of Cappadocia, was indebted for his elevation to the ſurprizing beauty of Glaphyra his mother, who had captivated the heart of Mark Anthony. He was an excellent character; a good father; a good maſter; a good friend; and endowed with every virtue, civil and domeſtic. Theſe qualities were not calculated to pleaſe the emperor Tiberius; and thoſe of Tiberius, no doubt, were as little agreeable to Archelaus. Owing to this or to other reaſons, the king of Cappadocia ſhewed ſome marks of indifference for that prince while he lived, under Auguſtus, in a kind of diſgrace, at Rhodes. The exile, when he aſcended the throne of the Cæſars, remembered this circumſtance, and ordered Archelaus to Rome. He repaired thither on the word of Tiberius, who promiſed him a favourable reception; but the emperor treated him with ſo much contempt, that,

poſſeſſing great ſenſibility, he died of grief, according to ſome; and, according to others, killed himſelf. This good prince wrote a book on agriculture. After his death Cappadocia became a Roman province, governed by the equeſtrian order.

PERGAMUS.

The kingdom of Pergamus takes its name from a city in the province of Myſia, which was its capital. It never had any certain or fixed limits; but its kings, though of a moderate rank, attained to extraordinary power, and were the chief ſupporters of the Romans in Aſia. They afterwards became the dependants of thoſe whoſe oppreſſive efforts they had ſeconded, and laſtly their ſubjects. A remarkable circumſtance, and which hitherto is peculiar to Pergamus, is, that the founder of this monarchy was an eunuch. He was at firſt governor of Pergamus, and made himſelf king to avoid being ſacrificed by Lyſimachus, to the hatred of Arſinoe his wife. He was ſucceeded by one of his brothers named Eumenes, whoſe ſon Attalus inherited the ſceptre. Theſe two names, Eumenes and Attalus, have been alternately, for the moſt part, thoſe of the kings of Pergamus. Pergamus, 2715.

This Attalus is the firſt who made an alliance with the Romans. The decemvirs, in his time, found a prediction of the ſibyls, which declared that all foreigners who ſhould make any attempts againſt the liberty of Italy would be beat and expelled, if Attalus I.

the Romans could place in Rome the image of the great mother of the gods of Mount Ida, which had fallen to the earth from heaven. Five deputies being ſent by the ſenate to requeſt that Attalus would give them this palladium, which was to be found in his ſtates, he delivered to them the venerable object, ſought after with ſo much eagerneſs. It conſiſted of a rude, ſhapeleſs, maſs of ſtone. Attalus I. was a conqueror, and a man of letters. It muſt, however, be allowed, that he was rather too ſevere in regard to a wretched detractor of Homer, named Daphidas, whom he cauſed to be precipitated from the ſummit of a rock.

Eumenes II. 2802.

The Romans were under great obligations to Eumenes II. He watched over their affairs in the neighbourhood as he did over his own; and it was through him they were informed of the projects which Antiochus the Great was forming againſt them. His ſtates were often a prey to hoſtile incurſions in conſequence of his attachment to the republic; and his capital even experienced a ſiege on the ſame account. Eumenes expoſed not only his troops but his perſon for the Romans in the battle of Magneſia, the ſucceſs of which was chiefly owing to his courage and bravery. They rewarded him for this ſervice by augmenting his kingdom with ſome of the provinces taken from Antiochus. It was on account alſo, no doubt, of the attachment of Eumenes to the Ro-

mans, that Hannibal excited againſt him Pruſias king of Bithynia. It is related, that this prince gained a complete victory at ſea, for which he was indebted to the addreſs of the Carthaginian. By his advice he cauſed to be collected in earthen jars a prodigious multitude of ſerpents, and other venemous reptiles, which he put on board ſeveral of his veſſels. Theſe veſſels, ſurrounding that of Eumenes, threw into it this new kind of enemies; and the neceſſity under which the Pergamians found themſelves of purſuing means to avoid being bitten, produced diſorder in his fleet, which was entirely defeated. The ſenate interfered in the difference of the two kings, and they entered into an accommodation.

Eumenes gave a great proof of his attachment to the Romans, by going himſelf to Rome to unveil to them the ſecret deſigns of Perſes king of Macedonia. On his return, Perſes cauſed him to be attacked on the road by aſſaſſins, who imagined that they had buried him under a ſhower of ſtones; but he was carried off by ſome faithful ſervants, who took care to get his wounds dreſſed. His cure was kept ſo ſecret, and continued ſo long, that he was ſuppoſed to be dead; and his brother Attalus, without making much enquiry, aſſumed the crown, and married his wife Stratonice. Eumenes returned; and it appears that his benevolent character was well known, ſince neither his brother nor his wife attempted to conceal them-

ſelves. Having both gone to meet him, he embraced them tenderly, and only whiſpered to Attalus: "Another time, when you wiſh to eſpouſe "my wife, wait at leaſt till I am dead."

It might be believed, that the connexion between Eumenes and the Romans, cemented by mutual ſervices, would never have been broken; but ſometimes a mere trifle is ſufficient to embroil old friends. The conſul Marius, through haughtineſs or other motives, refuſed the king of Pergamus permiſſion to encamp with his ſuite within the Roman entrenchments. This inſult made him inſtantly retire, and he carried back his troops into his own territories. Perſes took advantage of this opportunity to ſolicit the alliance of Eumenes; and the reaſons aſſigned by the Macedonian ambaſſador were, that no real friendſhip could ever exiſt between a king and a republic. "The Romans," ſaid he, "are irreconcileable "enemies to all kings, but they are artful enough "never to attack more than one at a time, mak-"ing uſe of the treaſures of the one to attack the "other; and they employ this policy till they "have deſtroyed them all." Perſes, by this reaſoning, and ſtill more by a large ſum of money which he promiſed, induced Eumenes, at leaſt, to remain inactive. The Romans never forgave their old ally for this kind of defection. The king of Pergamus, after the defeat of Perſes, was deſirous of exculpating himſelf for his conduct, and with

that view ſent his brother Attalus to Rome. The reſentment of the Romans was ſo great againſt Eumenes, that they endeavoured to prevail on his brother to demand the crown for himſelf; but he generouſly reſiſted their inſinuations.

As Eumenes imagined that his preſence might operate a change of opinion in his favour, he ſet out for Italy; but he had no ſooner arrived than the ſenate ſent to inform him, that they would not give him an audience, and to deſire him to return, without loſs of time. When he went back to his kingdom he diſpatched Athenæus, and another of his brothers, to endeavour to avert the blow with which he believed he was threatened from his old friends. Theſe republicans, who never were acquainted with delicacy, had the harſhneſs to ſend to Aſia two commiſſioners, who iſſued a public invitation to all thoſe who had complaints againſt Eumenes to repair to them at Sardis. They liſtened with great attention to the accuſations brought againſt the king of Pergamus. Eumenes felt in a ſenſible manner the inſult offered to him by this meaſure, but being afraid of involving himſelf in a war, dangerous in itſelf, and which his age would render ſtill more formidable, he once more ſent to Rome his brother Attalus. This prince required only from his inexorable enemies that he might be ſuffered to end his days in peace; and his wiſh was gratified, for he died ſoon after. He had only one child, ſtill

an infant; and he reſigned his wife Stratonice, together with his crown, to his brother Attalus, until his ſon ſhould be capable of aſcending the throne. Eumenes eſtabliſhed the beautiful library of Pergamus, which rivalled that of Alexandria. He lived on the beſt terms with his three brothers, whom he employed without the leaſt jealouſy, and who reſided in his court without fear: an inſtance of fraternal concord perhaps the only one of its kind that ever occurred in Aſia.

Attalus II. 2340.

Another ſingularity is, that Attalus II. never conſidered the crown but as a depoſit intruſted to his care. He was engaged in a bloody war with Pruſias, king of Bithynia, who carried his ſucceſs ſo far as to take poſſeſſion of Pergamus. The conduct of the Romans, in theſe wars of the princes of Aſia Minor, is very aſtoniſhing; as they had ſo much influence that they dictated laws even without a ſtanding army. They ſent ambaſſadors to the ſtates adjacent to the belligerent powers, deſiring them to raiſe troops, which they cauſed to march againſt that party whom they wiſhed to reſtrain; and after ſome years, when the combatants had ruined themſelves, they ſent other ambaſſadors to make peace. Such was the conduct which they obſerved towards Attalus and Pruſias, the latter of whom was dethroned by his ſon, with the aſſiſtance of Attalus. As the plot was formed at Rome by the ſon, named

Nicomedes, it muſt have been known to the ſenate; but they ſuffered the father and ſon to carry on their conteſt; and when Nicomedes ſent to Rome to announce that he was on the throne of Bithynia, his ambaſſadors were well received, and no one ſo much as aſked after his father, whom he had cauſed to be put to death. This connexion with a parricide is a ſtain in the character of Attalus, though Pruſias, in ſome meaſure, deſerved his fate for having attempted through mere jealouſy to get his ſon diſpatched. Attalus had two ſons, yet he wiſhed that the crown of Pergamus ſhould be placed on the head of his nephew, as he had promiſed to his brother. He gave to this young prince an education worthy of his rank. Attalus maintained men of learning at his court; and took much pleaſure in their converſation.

The excellent education given to Attalus III. was a feeble reſtraint on the bad qualities which had been laviſhly beſtowed on him by nature. Was he a tyrant, or a madman, or both? We ſhall be enabled to determine this queſtion by his actions. He cauſed the greater part of his relations, and the friends of his family, to be aſſaſſinated; ſome of them accuſed of having ſhortened the days of Stratonice his mother, who died of old age; and others for having done the ſame thing to Stratonice his wife, who was carried to her grave by an incurable malady. The death of

Attalus III. 2862.

the unfortunate victims was followed by that of their wives and children. Attalus employed for theſe executions foreign ſoldiers, as all thoſe do who command maſſacres, in order that their victims, being unknown to thoſe deſtined to butcher them, may not eſcape the ſword by commiſeration.

After having ſhed ſtreams of blood, the king of Pergamus allowed himſelf to fall into a ſtate of deep melancholy. He remained ſhut up in his palace, dreſſed in mean attire, and ſuffered his hair and beard to grow without taking the leaſt care of them. He afterwards confined himſelf to a garden, dug the earth with his own hands, and ſowed in it herbs of every kind, ſome of which were poiſonous. Being cruel even in his amuſements, he mixed theſe with wholeſome pulſe, and ſent packets of them to perſons of whoſe intentions he was ſuſpicious. Finding himſelf alone in his palace, ſhunned by his relations, his friends, and his courtiers, who dreaded his ſavage diſpoſition, he took it into his head to exerciſe the trade of a founder; but he fatigued himſelf ſo much one very hot day, in caſting a ſtatue of his mother, that he was ſeized with a fever, which put an end to his exiſtence. This prince may be claſſed among the number of thoſe who have written on agriculture. He perfectly underſtood medicine, and was exceedingly well verſed in the knowledge of ſimples. A taſte for the ſciences

ſeems to have been hereditary among the kings of Pergamus.

The laſt folly of Attalus was his will, which contained the following clauſe—" Let the Roman " people be the heirs of my effects." Ariſtonicus, a natural ſon of Eumenes, to whom the kingdom, for want of a legitimate heir, ought to have belonged, according to the Aſiatic cuſtom, pretended that the word " effects" ſignified only his moveable property, and not his kingdom, but the ſenate inſiſted that it comprehended both. Ariſtonicus was favoured by the Pergamians, who, according to the hiſtorians, " being accuſtomed " to the monarchic government, were afraid of " republican deſpotiſm." Two conſuls, Licinius Craſſus, pontifex maximus, and Lucius Valerius Silaceus, high-prieſt of Mars, diſputed for the advantage of carrying on the war againſt Ariſtonicus, becauſe it was believed that great riches would be the reward of victory. Craſſus obtained the command, and, contrary to his expectation, was defeated and taken priſoner. Being unwilling to ſurvive this diſgrace, he inſulted one of his guards, and provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he put him to death. Perpenna, who was ſent to aſſume the command in his ſtead, found Ariſtonicus too confident, on account of his victory, and enjoying, amidſt tranquillity, the pleaſures of an indolent life, as if he had nothing more to apprehend. He was ſurprized, therefore, by the Roman general,

and after an unfortunate battle, fled to a city the inhabitants of which delivered him up.

He had for counſellor, or miniſter, a philoſopher named Bloſius, who had been intimately connected with Tiberius Gracchus, and is ſuppoſed to have inſpired that Roman with the deſire of reviving the Agrarian law. Being proſecuted after the death of Gracchus, when the conſul aſked him why he had eſpouſed the party of a ſeditious tribune, he replied: "Becauſe his "party appeared to me to be the juſteſt." "But," added the judge, "what motive induced you to "become his agent?" "No motive," anſwered Bloſius, "but his merit." "You would have ſet fire "then to the capitol," reſumed the conſul, "if "Gracchus had ordered you." "Conſul," returned the philoſopher, "reſpect his memory; "ſuch an extraordinary enterprize could never "have entered his head. Had he commanded "me, however, I ſhould certainly have executed "his orders, under a perſuaſion that they muſt "have been conſiſtent with the public good." This was certainly an enthuſiaſt, ſuch as is neceſſary in factions. Bloſius quitted Rome, filled with contempt for the degenerate people who had ſuffered his friend to be maſſacred. Having fallen, together with Ariſtonicus, into the hands of Perpenna, he exhorted that prince to prefer a voluntary death to ſhameful ſlavery; and he immediately ſet him the example. Ariſtonicus, by not

following it was expoſed to one ignominy more, being dragged in triumph, and afterwards ſtrangled in priſon by order of the ſenate.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Pergamus continued, for a long time, to defend themſelves againſt the Romans. Aquilius, who was ſent to put an end to the war, being obliged to lay ſiege to the greater part of the towns, in ſucceſſion; and as moſt of them, by their ſituation on mountains, could receive no water but by means of aqueducts, the Roman general, inſtead of cutting down the aqueducts, which did not exceed the cruel rights of war, poiſoned the ſprings, and thus ſpread death and deſolation throughout the places which he blockaded. It does not appear that Rome, which could not be ignorant of this barbarous method of carrying on war, was hurt by it, ſince it authorized this poiſoner to govern the kingdom, and to reduce it into the form of a province.

THRACE.

Thrace contained the city of Byzantium, at preſent called Conſtantinople. This is ſufficient to fix the poſition of the country. Taken in general, it was ſometimes called a kingdom, though it was only an aſſemblage of different provinces, independent on each other. There were ſome of them whoſe princes united their neighbours under their ſceptre, and aſſumed the diadem; but they

Thrace, between Mount Hæmus, the Ægean ſea, the Pontus Euxinus, the Helleſpont, the Propontis, Macedonia, and the river Strymon.

rarely tranſmitted it to their deſcendants. It is to be preſumed, that if theſe people, who were brave, temperate, and inured to fatigue, had been unanimous in their councils, they might have become one of the moſt powerful nations on the earth.

The interior part of the country is cold, and deſtitute of fertility, becauſe the mountains are covered with ſnow during the greater part of the year; but the maritime provinces produce grain and fruits of every kind. The climate is mild, and renders it as agreeable a reſidence as any of the moſt beautiful countries of Aſia. The ancient Thracians were ferocious and cruel. It was almoſt always Thracian ſoldiers that tyrants employed for their ſanguinary executions. They followed the ſame religion as the Greeks; but they honoured in a particular manner Mars and Mercury, the gods of the brave, and of thieves.

The Thracians wept at the birth of their children, and rejoiced at the death of their neighbours. Such a bad idea did they entertain of life! In diſtricts where polygamy was eſtabliſhed, the women diſputed with each other for the honour of having been moſt beloved, in order that they might be ſacrificed by the neareſt relation at the tomb of their huſbands. They ſold their children, and beſtowed very little care in watching over their daughters; but they were exceedingly jealous of their wives. Idleneſs, in their eyes, had an air of

dignity and grandeur; and they conſidered it honourable to live by rapine.

The names alone of the different Thracian tribes would form a very long liſt; but it would be difficult to ſwell it with intereſting facts. We find in the hiſtory of the Dolonci a very dexterous ſtratagem employed to get poſſeſſion of a throne without violence. On the death of the king of the country which was ſituated in the Cherſoneſus, his brother came from Athens, where he reſided, with a deſign of ſucceeding him. When he arrived, finding that the Cherſoneſians were not diſpoſed to give him the crown, he led a retired life, under a pretence of mourning for the death of his brother. The Thracians, participating in his affliction, ſent the chiefs of the different cities to compliment him in the name of the nation; but the afflicted prince cauſed them all to be detained; and with theſe hoſtages he found no difficulty to get himſelf acknowledged ſovereign of the country which had been governed by his brother.

The Beſſi, the inhabitants of Mount Hæmus, the moſt ferocious of all the Thracians, whoſe capital was Adrianople, notwithſtanding their own bravery, and the ruggedneſs of their country, were ſubdued by the Romans. The republicans left them their kings; but Piſo, the governor of Macedonia, being as appears diſſatisfied with one of

them, ſurprized him by treachery, and cauſed him to be publicly beheaded. The nation, incenſed at this act of perfidy, ſhook off the yoke of the Romans. A prieſt of Bacchus, under the pretence of religion, formed a powerful party among them, and gave a great deal of trouble to the Romans, who wiſhed for no other ſuperſtition than that of liberty.

The following is a maxim of one of the Thracian monarchs: "There is no difference between "a king fond of peace and a groom." This prince died at the age of eighty-two, after having carried on war during his whole life. We might ſay with greater juſtice, that a good groom is better than ſuch a king. We are acquainted with the names and poſition of eighteen Thracian hordes, and the names and ſucceſſion of a dozen of kings, or rather chiefs of bands of plunderers. They were treated as ſuch by the Romans; who placed them on the throne, made them deſcend from it, exiled, impriſoned, and puniſhed them at their pleaſure; but they did not neglect their treaſures, which often became a prey to their avaricious generals. This country, though the ſeat of ignorance, produced Democritus the philoſopher, and Thucydides, the hiſtorian.

EPIRUS.

Epirus, between the Ceraunian mountains, the gulph of Ambracia, Theſſaly, Macedonia, and the Ionian ſea.

Epirus, a rugged country, was covered, even in the defiles, and on the ſummits of its mountains, with a multitude of towns. The ſea alſo bathed the ramparts of many famous cities, all of which were peopled by warlike inhabitants. Epirus had nothing uncommon among its productions but the Moloſſian dogs, which were ſtrong, fierce, and obſtinate animals. The horſes of Epirus were formerly, and ſtill are, eſteemed. This kingdom is ſaid to have been formed by the junction of ten different tribes. At the head of them is placed the Selli, as being the moſt ancient. To them belonged the care of the temple of Dodona, dedicated to Jupiter, the Pelaſgian. Homer calls them prieſts.

This poet has celebrated the exploits of Pyrrhus, who perhaps was not the firſt king of Epirus; but the reigns of the reſt are involved in obſcurity. This prince was the ſon of Achilles, and avenged the death of his father, killed at the ſiege of Troy. After having ſacrificed old Priam at the foot of the altar, he threw from the ſummit of a tower young Aſtyanax, the ſon of Hector; made his mother Andromache his concubine; and butchered at the tomb of Achilles, Polyxena, the daughter of the unfortunate Priam. After the ſiege of Troy, he conquered all Epirus, at the head of

the Moloſſi, his firſt ſubjects. Pyrrhus was called alſo Neoptolemus, which ſignifies the young warrior; and this name he retained in his old age. He was aſſaſſinated in the ſame manner as he had put to death the unfortunate Priam, on the ſteps of the altar, in the temple of Delphi, which he wiſhed to plunder. His death gave riſe to the proverb 'Neoptolemic vengeance.' The Pyrrhic dance, which was executed by armed men, and much celebrated among the ancients, was ſo called from his name, becauſe he had practiſed it around the tomb of Achilles.

Tharymbas. Arybas. The ſucceſſors of Pyrrhus, in lineal deſcent, were Moloſſus, Pielus, and Admetus. The laſt of theſe left an infant ſon, named Tharymbas. The Epirots, by a public decree, entruſted the guardianſhip and the care of his education to Sabylinthus, a man of high birth, and great probity, who cauſed his pupil to be bred at Athens, under his own inſpection, and took care that he ſhould apply to the ſtudy of the belles-lettres. Tharymbas, therefore, has been conſidered as one of the moſt learned princes of his time. He introduced the arts and the ſciences among the Epirots. On account of the wiſe laws which he framed for them, he has been ranked among the number of legiſlators. After two kings, named Alcetas and Neoptolemus, the Epirots were ſo fortunate as to have one more who was a friend to the ſciences. Arybas communicated the ſame taſte to the

children of his brother, for whom he held the crown in truſt. At his death he reſtored it to Alexander, the youngeſt of his nephews. His niece Olympias was the mother of Alexander the Great.

Alexander of Epirus became unfortunately filled with a deſire of rivalling Alexander the Macedonian. They were nearly of the ſame age; but while the Macedonian was making his armies triumph in the eaſt, the bad deſtiny of the Epirot led him into the weſt, which was inhabited by warlike people. He ſaid, therefore, with chagrin, that his nephew had to combat againſt women, while he, on the other hand, had found only men. He was killed in an unfortunate expedition, and left no children. He was ſucceeded by Æacides, of a collateral branch, deſcended from Pyrrhus. He behaved ill towards his ſubjects, by whom he was expelled; but they gave the crown to his brother Alcetas, who ſeems to have behaved no better than the baniſhed monarch, ſince he was maſſacred by his ſubjects, together with two of his ſons. Alexander. Æacides.

When the Epirots revolted againſt his father Æacides, and expelled him from the throne, young Pyrrhus, who was ſtill in the cradle, had nearly fallen a victim to their fury; but he was ſaved by two of the chief noblemen of the country, who carried him to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, who had married his aunt. Glaucias re- Pyrrhus.

fuſed at firſt to receive the young prince, for fear of involving himſelf in war with the enemies of Æacides. His conductors, however, after employing the moſt affecting ſupplications, depoſited the infant at the feet of his uncle. The child, as if he had comprehended their intentions, crept towards the knees of the king, and embraced them. Glaucias was unable to reſiſt the careſſes of innocence. He, at length, became ſoftened; ſwore to defend the child at the peril of his own life, and commited him to the care of his wife, to be educated as one of his ſons. When the boy had attained to the age of twelve years, he conducted him himſelf into Epirus, and placed him on the throne. Others ſay that he was voluntarily recalled by his ſubjects.

At the age of ſeventeen he again loſt the kingdom by his imprudence. Imagining himſelf ſecure on the throne, he went to Illyria, to be preſent at the marriage of one of the ſons of Glaucias, with whom he had been educated. During his abſence, his ſubjects revolted, and gave the crown to his grand-uncle Neoptolemus. This misfortune turned out advantageous to Pyrrhus, as it furniſhed him with an opportunity of forming himſelf at a diſtance from the throne, and from officious flatterers, by whom he had been ſurrounded. Being ſtripped of his ſtates, he retired to Demetrius Poliorcetes, his ſiſter's huſband. Under this great general he learned the art of war; diſtinguiſhed

himſelf at the battle of Ipſus by uncommon bravery; and found means to preſerve to his brother-in-law, after his defeat, the cities of Greece, which the latter had intruſted to his protection. He even carried his ſervices ſtill farther. Demetrius having concluded a peace with Ptolemy king of Egypt, Pyrrhus conſented to go thither as an hoſtage. His mildneſs, his moderation, and his dexterity in exerciſes of every kind, procured him the eſteem of the Egyptians. Berenice the queen, captivated with his noble qualities, gave him her daughter Berenice in marriage, and obtained from her huſband Ptolemy an army to enable her ſon-in-law to recover the crown of Epirus, which he ſhared with his grand-uncle Neoptolemus. The old monarch, diſpleaſed at not being put in poſſeſſion of the whole, attempted to poiſon his nephew; but Pyrrhus having obtained timely notice of his deſign, put to death this uſurper of the throne, which he then occupied alone. His Macedonian wars have given him a high reputation, and that of Italy has placed his name on a level with that of the Romans in the annals of glory.

Pyrrhus in Italy, 2719.

This war was excited by the inhabitants of Tarentum, a city of Italy, who hearing of the reputation of Pyrrhus, who was called the deliverer of Greece, ſent to demand aſſiſtance from him againſt the oppreſſion of the Romans. But the true motive, and the real object of the king of Epirus, are clearly expreſſed in his converſation

with Cineas, his miniſter. This man not only underſtood well the art of war, but was one of the moſt profound politicians, and the moſt eloquent orators of his time. Pyrrhus ſaid of him: "The "perſuaſive language of Cineas has procured me "more cities than I have been able to conquer by "the force of my arms." Being ſolicited by the Tarentines to come to their relief, and highly pleaſed that he had an opportunity of trying his ſtrength with the Romans, he conſulted Cineas reſpecting the vaſt projects which an imagination, exalted by the deſire of glory, had induced him to form.

"The Tarentines," ſaid he, "have invited "me to aſſiſt them; if I triumph over the Ro- "mans, the whole weſt will be ſubject to my "power. But it is certain that it will be eaſy for "me to conquer them. Hetruria will attack them "on the one hand, and the people who inhabit "the country on this ſide the Tyber are ready "on the other to march under my command. "What do you think of the enterprize?" Cineas, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer, ſaid: "After you have conquered the Romans, whither "will you turn your arms?" "When they ſhall "be conquered," reſumed Pyrrhus, "I will paſs "over into Sicily, where every thing is in con- "fuſion, by the death of king Agathocles. You "know that the conqueſt of that iſland is of the "utmoſt importance." "But when you are ma-

" ſter of Sicily, what will you do then?" added the miniſter. " Nothing will be more eaſy," replied the king, " than to paſs over to Africa. " Agathocles with a ſmall fleet was able to beat " the Carthaginians, and very little prevented him " from becoming their ſovereign. When they " are ſubdued, Macedonia, my ancient domain, " and the whole of Greece, cannot eſcape me." " And when we have conquered all," ſaid Cineas, " what ſhall we do then?" " Do then!" continued the king, " we ſhall live in peace, and " think only of enjoyment." " Ah!" exclaimed the ſage miniſter; " what prevents you from liv- " ing in peace at preſent, and from enjoying as " you pleaſe, all the comforts of life? Why " ſhould you go ſo far in ſearch of that happineſs " which you have now in your own power, " and to purchaſe at ſo dear a rate what you " may obtain without any trouble?" Pyrrhus did not expect ſuch a reply; he was ſomewhat diſconcerted by it; but he ſaid, diſguiſing his ambition: " It is a practice hereditary in my fa- " mily to aſſiſt the unfortunate. People ought " not always to make war for themſelves." Under this pretence he gave orders for marching to the relief of the Tarentines.

Cineas ſet out firſt with an advanced guard of three thouſand men; but the war was nearly on the point of being finiſhed before it had well begun, as the Tarentines were in treaty with the

Romans. The miniſter of Epirus, however, interrupted all theſe negotiations; cauſed the citadel, in which he placed a good garriſon, to be delivered into his hands; and waited coolly for the king, who ſoon appeared, but in a ſtate very different from what had been expected. Beſides his own troops, he had borrowed ſome from the neighbouring princes, together with ſhips, in order to weaken them, and render them incapable of hurting him, as well as to make them intereſted in his ſucceſs. But his fleet was attacked and diſperſed by a ſtorm, and he himſelf was expoſed to the utmoſt danger. Seeing his veſſel ready to be ſwallowed up by the waves, he threw himſelf into the ſea, with his guards; and after being buffetted the whole night by the tempeſt, got on ſhore not far from Tarentum, where he was joined in ſucceſſion by his troops. He was received by the Tarentines with every demonſtration of joy. After his arrival they thought of nothing but pleaſure, as they imagined that Pyrrhus alone would put an end to the war, and that he would lead to battle only the Epirots; but the intention of the monarch was very different. As ſoon as he found himſelf maſter of the city, he ordered the places of exerciſe to be ſhut, as well as the public gardens, where the inhabitants aſſembled to hear the news, and to ſettle, while they were walking, the affairs of the ſtate. Feſtivals and ſpectacles were forbidden, as being equally dan-

gerous as political aſſemblies. The king made all the young men take up arms; taught them the uſe of them; incorporated them among his troops, and behaved with great ſeverity at reviews, and to thoſe who abſented themſelves, or who did not properly diſcharge their duty. This rigor having made many of the inhabitants leave the place, Pyrrhus declared them puniſhable with death, as well as thoſe who did not appear at reviews. Spies, who introduced themſelves into private companies, gave him an account of every thing that was ſaid or tranſacted. In conſequence of this ſyſtem, the moſt mutinous were privately arreſted, and under various pretences ſent to be confined in Epirus. The calumnies propagated reſpecting thoſe whoſe influence was dreaded, or whom they wiſhed to render ſuſpected by the people, were not forgotten. The ſureſt and moſt common method was to perſuade the people that every meaſure purſued to ſubject them was put in execution at the inſtigation, and by the advice, of thoſe whom they before conſidered as their friends, and who had enjoyed their confidence. Thus the art of deceiving the people, and making them kiſs the chains impoſed on them; of cauſing them to deteſt their protectors, and adore their executioners, with all its refinements, is not ſo modern as may be imagined.

The war of Pyrrhus againſt the Romans exhibits a new character in hiſtory, as it was con-

ducted with a regard to the rights of humanity before unknown. It must, indeed, be allowed in praise of Pyrrhus, that he was the first who employed in his operations those flattering marks of attention which shew esteem for the enemy against whom war is carried on; but his conduct was readily imitated by the Romans. They had great generals, who were neither presumptuous in victory, nor abject in defeat; and senators filled with love for their country, and models to the people by their frugality, disinterestedness, and the purity of their morals. The war with Pyrrhus is, perhaps, the noblest monument of the republic.

It began by a kind of challenge, in which haughtiness was displayed by both parties. Pyrrhus wrote to the consul Levinus: "I learn that "you are at the head of an army destined to "make war on the Tarentines. Disband that "army as soon as possible, and come and explain "your pretensions. When I have heard both "parties I will give judgment; and I know how "to make my sentence be obeyed." The answer of Levinus was as follows: "Know, Pyrrhus, "that the republic neither admits you as an ar- "biter, nor fears you as an enemy. By what "right do you pretend to be a judge, when you "have injured us by landing in Italy without our "consent? We will have no arbitrator but Mars, "from whom we are descended." The two armies soon found themselves in the field opposed to

each other; and the king of Epirus could not help admiring the noble and undaunted appearance of the Romans. It may be ſaid, that in the firſt battle they were defeated by the elephants; for theſe animals had never been before ſeen in Italy. The horſes, unable to bear their ſmell, and frightened at the ſtrange noiſe they made, ran away with their riders, and left the legions uncovered. Pyrrhus found means to break their ranks, but at the expenſe of a great many killed and wounded; which made him ſay, that ſuch another victory would ruin him. After the battle he gave orders that the Epirots and Romans ſhould be buried without any diſtinction. Looking at the bodies of the latter, and obſerving that they had no wounds behind, that they had all fallen in the poſts aſſigned to them, held their ſwords in their hands, and ſtill retained after death a certain martial air in their faces, he exclaimed: "O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his "ſoldiers, or the Romans Pyrrhus for their "leader! Together we ſhould be able to ſubdue "the whole world."

This victory enabled Pyrrhus to advance into Campania; but he formed no eſtabliſhment there, and returned to take up his winter quarters in Tarentum. Reflecting in that city on the ſkill and bravery of the Romans, he was convinced, that if he did not ſucceed in terminating the war by an honourable peace, his ruin would be un-

avoidable; ſo that he was highly gratified when he learned that the Romans intended to ſend ambaſſadors to him, and as he believed, for the purpoſe of entering into a treaty. What pleaſure to the king of Epirus to behold theſe haughty republicans at his feet, and to be able to ſay to them: "I grant you peace!" In this confidence he received the embaſſy with the utmoſt honour. It was compoſed of three men of great merit: Cornelius-Dolabella, celebrated by his victories; Æmilius Papus, of tried probity; and the virtuous Fabricius. Pyrrhus waited with a ſort of impatience mixed with joy, to ſee what would be the propoſals of the ambaſſadors; but he was much ſurprized when they only aſked for an equal exchange of priſoners, or that he would accept of a ranſom for thoſe of ſuperior rank and dignity. The monarch, however, concealed his ſurprize, and appointed a certain day for returning an anſwer.

In that interval he behaved to the ambaſſadors with every mark of politeneſs. His object was to induce them to render the ſenate favourable to his wiſhes. He addreſſed himſelf, in particular, to Fabricius; but the Roman ſhewed that he was proof againſt the moſt flattering offers. Pyrrhus, finding that he could not gain him over to his intereſt, was deſirous of trying whether he poſſeſſed as much intrepidity as virtue, and for that purpoſe cauſed one of his largeſt elephants to be concealed behind a curtain, in the place where he received

the ambaſſadors. As Fabricius had never ſeen one of theſe animals, the king brought him within the elephant's reach; upon which the curtain was ſuddenly drawn, and the monſtrous animal appearing, threw his trunk over Fabricius's head, and ſent forth a loud cry. The intrepid Roman turning towards the monarch, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of terror, ſaid: "Does the great king, "who could not move me by his offers, think to "frighten me by the cry of an animal?" The king, ſurprized at this inſtance of firmneſs, invited him the ſame day to dine with him. During the repaſt the converſation happening to turn on the Epicurean philoſophy, which Pyrrhus extolled, becauſe perhaps it was favourable to indolence and pleaſure, Fabricius, in whoſe character auſterity of manners was not incompatible with urbanity, paid him the following delicate compliment: "May Pyrrhus, while he carries on war againſt "the Romans, make his happineſs to conſiſt in that "indolence ſo much boaſted of by Epicurus!"

The day fixed for giving his anſwer having arrived, the king generouſly ſet the priſoners at liberty without any ranſom. He ſent back the ambaſſadors with a polite meſſage to the republic, accompanied by Cineas, to whom he gave orders to enter into a treaty for peace. The propoſals he was to make were, that the Tarentines ſhould be comprehended in the treaty; and that the republic ſhould reſtore liberty and their former privileges to

the Greek cities of Italy, as well as to the Samnites, and other Latin nations. On theſe terms Pyrrhus offered to put an end to all hoſtilities, and to go to Rome himſelf to confirm the peace by an oath. Cineas, who had been the diſciple of Demoſthenes, made a ſpeech in the ſenate worthy of his maſter. A part of the ſenators were inclined to accept theſe propoſals; but as ſeveral of them were abſent, they referred the concluſion of the buſineſs till the next day, when Appius Claudius cauſed himſelf to be carried to the ſenate, which he had not attended for many years on account of great age, and the loſs of ſight. This reſpectable veteran proved ſo clearly to the ſenators how dangerous it would be for the glory and ſafety of Rome to agree to ſuch a ſhameful treaty, that they unanimouſly decreed as follows: "The "war againſt Pyrrhus ſhall be continued; his "ambaſſadors ſhall receive orders to leave Rome "this day; entrance into the city ſhall be refuſed "to the king of Epirus; and notification ſhall be "given to the chief of the embaſſy, that the re-"public will enter into no negotiation with his "maſter until he ſhall quit Italy."

Cineas, much aſtoniſhed, ſet out to carry back this haughty anſwer to the king. "What do "you think of the ſenate?" ſaid Pyrrhus. "I "thought," replied Cineas, "that I was in an "aſſembly of kings." It was neceſſary to have recourſe once more to arms. The king was

wounded in a battle, the ſucceſs of which was rendered indeciſive to the Romans by his bravery; but they remained maſters of the field. While the conſuls were preparing for another engagement they received a letter from Nicias, the king's phyſician, in which he offered to poiſon his maſter if they would promiſe him a great reward; but being filled with deteſtation on account of this horrid propoſal, they wrote to the monarch as follows: "Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, conſuls, "to king Pyrrhus, health. Pyrrhus, you are "betrayed. He whoſe fidelity ought to have "been unſhaken, has offered to poiſon you. We "inform you of this not to court your favour, but "in order that it may not be ſaid that we had any "ſhare in a crime at which our feelings revolt. To "put an end to the war by an act of treachery, "would, in our opinion, be a horrid attempt; and "we ſhall employ no means for that purpoſe, but "ſuch as are conſiſtent with honour and juſtice." This generous behaviour inſpired the king with the moſt lively gratitude, and he immediately ſent back all the priſoners who at different times had fallen into his hands. But the conſuls did not think themſelves authorized to receive preſents for having abſtained from committing a baſe action, and they accepted the priſoners only on the condition of releaſing an equal number of Epirots. The loſſes which the king had ſuſtained made him ſincerely deſirous of peace, and he once more ſent

Cineas to Rome to try whether he could not prevail on the ſenate to enter into an accommodation; but he found them firmly reſolved on liſtening to no propoſals that might be made, until Pyrrhus ſhould withdraw from Italy.

The Syracuſans fortunately ſupplied this prince with a pretext for quitting Italy, as they invited him to their aſſiſtance againſt the Carthaginians. He at firſt obtained ſome ſucceſs; but being afterwards abandoned by the Sicilians, and hard preſſed by the Carthaginians, he thought himſelf exceedingly happy to find the ſame pretence for leaving Sicily as he had found for quitting Italy; that is to ſay, his being recalled by the Tarentines, who were threatened by the Romans. He came to a trial of ſtrength with them once more; but on very unequal terms, for the Romans had become accuſtomed to the elephants, which they no longer dreaded. In the laſt battle they even derived very great advantage from theſe animals. A young elephant having been wounded, its piercing cries reached its mother, which, quitting the ranks, made her way through the ſoldiers, overturning every thing that oppoſed her; and by theſe means a dreadful confuſion was occaſioned in the army of the Epirots. Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum, and endeavoured for ſome time to make it be believed, that he had ordered a reinforcement of troops, and that he was determined to continue the war with activity; but, in reality, he

thought only of retiring, without, perhaps, giving up all design of returning. He left a good garrison in the citadel, and ordered the governor to defend himself to the utmost in case of an attack. To induce him to obey his instructions, he sent him a terrible memorandum, consisting of a chair covered with the skin of his perfidious physician; but other projects made him forget Tarentum, which the Romans got into their possession.

Pyrrhus was of a fickle disposition, and readily abandoned one project for another. From Italy he returned to Macedonia, where he found the Gauls, whom he defeated; and he then raised a trophy with the following inscription: "Pyrrhus, "king of the Molossi, dedicates to Minerva the "arms of the intrepid Gauls, whom he has con-"quered." This success made him imagine, that it was possible to render himself master of Greece. He thought it would be most advantageous to begin with Sparta; but he miscarried in his enterprize, or rather, according to custom, he pretended to abandon the siege of Lacedemon, not because he was unable to succeed, but because he was invited by the citizens of Argos to assist them against two tyrants, who were disputing for the sovereignty. He perished, however, in that city, in consequence of a mistake, without obtaining the repose which Cineas advised him to enjoy. Having entered the city imprudently, and being pursued from street to street, he sent to tell his son, who

commanded the army, not to ſend him aſſiſtance, but to keep the gate clear. The meſſenger explained himſelf badly, and on the contrary called for a reinforcement. This new body on entering the gate found themſelves oppoſite to that commanded by the king, who was making towards it. A ſcene of confuſion accordingly enſued; and while Pyrrhus was endeavouring, by his cries and geſtures, to make the new troops fall back to open a paſſage, his helmet dropped off, upon which a woman threw a tile on his head from the roof of a houſe and killed him on the ſpot.

If the teſtimony of an enemy, and an enlightened enemy, can eſtabliſh the merit of an individual, no perſon poſſeſſed more military talents than Pyrrhus. The Romans acknowledged him to be their maſter, eſpecially in the art of encampment. "Pyrrhus and Hannibal," ſays Cicero, "came to "diſpute with the Romans by open force for the "ſovereignty of Italy. People ſtill ſpeak with "praiſe of the probity of the former, but the "latter is execrated on account of his horrid "cruelty. Pyrrhus, however, had ſome faults. "He was a prey to ambition, and his mind was "too much ſubject to the power of inconſtancy. "It was neither for the purpoſe of augmenting "his treaſures, nor of acquiring rich booty, "that he endeavoured to ſubdue neighbouring "nations. The only model whom he held up to "himſelf for imitation was Alexander the Great;

" and his only desire was to surpass, or approach,
" the great qualities of that conqueror. His ex-
" cessive inconstancy did him great hurt; and
" striking instances have been seen of it in his life;
" for he had no sooner tried his strength with one
" enemy, than he quitted him speedily to combat
" another; and one expedition was scarcely be-
" gun when he became tired of it, and went to
" some other kingdom to begin a new one. If
" he subdued any country, whatever sums the
" conquest of it might have cost him, he soon
" after withdrew from it his troops; and for this
" reason Antigonus compared him to a fortunate
" gamester, who expends without reflection what-
" ever he wins. He is reproached on account of
" his blind temerity. He one day exposed him-
" self in battle like a common soldier. This is
" not the courage suited to a general. His whole
" care ought to be employed on the safety and
" preservation of his army."

Such is the portrait of Pyrrhus, traced out by the hand of a master. We shall add the following trait, which will not disgrace the picture. One of his courtiers, named Æropus, whose zeal he had often experienced, happening to die; when the king was informed of it he shed tears, and said in the bitterness of his grief: " It is not his death
" that I lament, since, like all men, he was oblig-
" ed to pay the debt of nature. My affliction
" arises from having, as I may say, neglected him;

" for not having properly rewarded the ſervices " which he did me, and for having ſuffered to eſ- " cape opportunities of teſtifying what my heart " felt for him." We have no account of his domeſtic virtues. So excellent a friend muſt have been a good huſband, and a good father; but it may be doubted, whether ſo great a warrior could be a good king for his people.

Alexander, 2727.

His ſon Alexander was alſo fond of war, but he was prudent enough to confine himſelf within certain limits; and after ſeveral conqueſts, he was capable of enjoying that repoſe which his father neglected. Three of his ſucceſſors only tranſmitted the throne to each other till it came to Deidamia, who died unmarried. By her will ſhe bequeathed power to her ſubjects to give themſelves whatever form of government they might judge moſt proper. They took advantage of this liberty to eſtabliſh a republic; but this government introduced, fomented, and maintained troubles among the Epirots, by which they were at laſt forced to ſuffer Epirus to become a Roman province. A very remarkable cuſtom prevailed among them under their kings. Every year, in a general aſſembly, the king and the people made a mutual promiſe, the former that he would reſpect the laws, and reign according to what they preſcribed; and the latter, that they would obey him provided he was faithful to his word. Though this was only a ceremony, it might be employed with advantage

to remind kings, as well as the people, of their reciprocal duties.

Bithynia.

Bithynia lies oppoſite to Conſtantinople, and begins at Chalcedon, the city of the blind, ſo called on account of its founders having placed it in Aſia, on an ungrateful ſoil, and in a diſagreeable ſituation, inſtead of having built it on the point of Europe where Conſtantinople ſtands, which is enriched with all thoſe advantages refuſed to Chalcedon. The kingdom itſelf is fertile, and covered with opulent cities. Among theſe we diſtinguiſh at preſent Byrſa, which was the reſidence of the Ottoman emperors before they eſtabliſhed themſelves at Conſtantinople. The Penderachi of the Greeks, named by the Turks Eregri, on the Pontus Euxinus, ſtill exhibits a city which is deſtitute neither of inhabitants nor trade; but it is very different from the ancient Heraclea, the ruins of which ſerve it as a foundation.

Bithynia, between the Thracian Boſphorus, the Propontis, Mount Olympus, and the Pontus Euxinus.

Heraclea, founded by the Bœotians, was a formidable maritime power. The kings and republics of Greece diſputed with each other for its alliance. It ſent fleets to aſſiſt that party in whoſe favour it wiſhed victory to incline. We are told of a veſſel that ſailed from its ports having eight hundred rowers on each ſide, and twelve hundred ſoldiers; a number very ſmall in compariſon of the rowers. We ſhall leave ſeamen to determine the nature of

Heraclea.

of this machine. The government of the city was republican in the hands of the nobility, but they were expelled by the people. Either owing to accident, or becauſe it was believed at Heraclea, after the exceſſes committed againſt the nobility, that it could not be well defended againſt their fury but by a deſerter of that order, the people recalled a nobleman, named Clearchus, whom they had before deteſted, and expelled on account of his bad qualities. Being inveſted by the populace with the ſupreme power, he treated all the rich as nobility, baniſhed or put to death the greater part of them, and ſeized on their property. The neighbouring powers, to whom the wretched exiles applied for protection, armed againſt him. To defend himſelf, he obliged the wives and daughters of the fugitives to marry ſlaves, who when they became huſbands, and poſſeſſed of property, became alſo firm defenders of the tyrant; for during a revolution there can be no obſtinate defenſe without uſurped property. All the nobility who fell into his hands were put to death, amidſt the moſt dreadful torture. The people experienced his cruelty in their turn. He compelled all thoſe whom he met to ſwallow hemlock, which he preſented to them with his own hands, ſo that no perſon durſt venture to go abroad without an antidote. The reader will learn with aſtoniſhment, that this monſter reigned twelve years, at the end of which he was aſſaſſinated on

his tribunal by two reſolute young men, who had been diſciples of Plato.

It is very aſtoniſhing that the ſovereign power ſhould have been ſuffered to fall into the hands of Satyrus, his brother, who equalled him in cruelty; and it is no leſs remarkable that this man made of his two nephews, the ſons of Clearchus, named Timotheus and Dionyſius, two princes celebrated by their juſtice, their moderation, and many other valuable qualities. The firſt reigned fifteen years without the title of king; the ſecond aſſumed it, and diſcharged all the duties attached to it. Dionyſius, who was remarkably corpulent, fell, it is ſaid, into a lethargy, from which it was impoſſible to rouſe him, but by thruſting into his fleſh large needles made for the purpoſe; but this remedy did not prolong his life beyond the age of fifty. The bad blood of Clearchus, ſuſpended in his veins, began to circulate in thoſe of his two ſons, who put their mother to death. Lyſimachus, their father-in-law, freed the earth, however, from theſe monſters. He then rendered himſelf maſter of Heraclea; but the Heracleans, after begging him in a peaceable manner to lay aſide the crown, as they found that he was not diſpoſed to comply with their requeſt, dethroned him, threw him into priſon, and raſed their citadel. After this they applied to Seleucus to protect them from the reſentment of Lyſimachus; but, as that prince refuſed, they had recourſe to

Mithridates, and at the ſame time, for the greater ſecurity, to the Romans. A war, however, having taken place between the king of Pontus and the republic, it was neceſſary to make a choice; and the fleet of Mithridates, carried by Archelaus into the port of the Heracleans, determined them which ſide to eſpouſe. After the example of the ally, whom they preferred, they maſſacred all the Romans found in their territories. Triarius, the lieutenant-general of Cotta, puniſhed Heraclea for this horrid act of perfidy, by demoliſhing it to the foundation. The ſenate blamed Cotta for having proceeded to this exceſs of vengeance. "We ordered you," ſaid they, "to take Hera-"clea, and not to deſtroy it." They ſent thither a Roman colony; but ſcarcely had it begun to be in a flouriſhing condition, when a king of Galatia, ſupported by Mark Antony, deſtroyed it again. This cruelty, however, did not long paſs unpuniſhed; as Octavianus dragged the deſtroyer in triumph, and afterwards put him to death. Heraclea, by this diſaſter, loſt all its ſplendour, and remained a very moderate city under the dominion of the Romans.

Kings, 2718.

Hiſtory aſſigns to Bithynia kings ſubject to the Medes and the Perſians, from Ninus to Alexander. Bas overcame Calantus, a general of the Macedonian conqueror; remained fifty years on the throne, and left it to his ſon Zipœtes, who died, it is ſaid, of joy, on having gained a battle at

the age of ſeventy-ſix. Nicomedes, his ſon, had three brothers, two of whom he put to death; but the other, named Zibœas, cantoned his troops along the coaſt, and engaged the king of Syria to ſupport him. Nicomedes called in the Gauls with the ſame view, and opened an entrance for them into Aſia: with their aſſiſtance he indeed expelled his brother; but the Gauls eſtabliſhed themſelves in his place. Their ſmall kingdom is called Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia.

The Galatians were ſometimes troubleſome neighbours to the kings of Bithynia. Having given occaſion for ſuſpicions to Zela, the grandſon of the prince who introduced them into Aſia, he aſſembled their chiefs under the pretence of a grand entertainment, with an intention of putting them to death; but having privately found out his deſign, they diſpatched him at the beginning of the banquet. His ſon Pruſias avenged this murder in a cruel manner, by carrying deſolation into Galatia, where he ſpared neither age nor ſex. This prince is chiefly known by his mean conduct towards the Romans. His name will be loaded with eternal opprobrium for having conſented to deliver Hannibal into their hands; and the Romans participate in his ignominy for having demanded the Carthaginian, who eluded their purſuit by a voluntary death. Pruſias.

After the defeat of Perſes the Grecian ſtates ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to congratulate the re-

public on that event. Prusias went thither in person; and if it were not well attested by all historians, we should have difficulty to believe to what excess of adulation he descended. He caused his head to be shaved; assumed the cap which slaves wore after they had obtained their freedom; appeared in that dress in the forum; and said to the prætor, who was sitting there to administer justice, "You behold me in the dress of a freed-man, be-"cause I can consider myself only as one of your "slaves, whom in the excess of your kindness "you have restored to liberty." On entering the senate he threw himself prostrate, kissed the threshold of the door, and called the senators visible deities, his saviours, and deliverers. In a word, the king of Bithynia debased himself to such a degree, that notwithstanding the fondness for adulation with which the Roman assemblies have been so justly reproached, it appears that the senate was ashamed of his flatteries, since Livy, who is so careful to collect every thing that could do honour to the Romans, has concealed a part of them. It is rendering justice to the memory of Prusias to say, that his intellects were sometimes deranged. He was exceedingly ugly. Thinking to conceal his deformity, he disguised himself sometimes as a woman: the sure means of making his ugliness still more striking. Science, philosophy, and literature, suffered nothing in being neglected, and even despised, by a man of this character. He

was ſucceeded by Nicomedes II. a ſon worthy of ſuch a father, as he beſprinkled the ſteps of the throne with the blood of his brothers. It is ſaid that he aſcended to it over the body of his father, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated. If this be true it may be remarked, that his ſon Nicomedes III. ſerved him in the ſame manner. The reputation of Nicomedes IV. has been tarniſhed by the too intimate connexion which he had with Julius Cæſar. This race ended with the fourth, and with him alſo the kingdom of Bithynia, which was incorporated with the republic.

Colchis.

Colchis between Iberia, the Pontus Euxinus, Armenia, Pontis, and Sarmatia.

Colchis, called at preſent Mingrelia, was peopled in the time of Seſoſtris by a colony of Egyptians; at leaſt as is ſuppoſed, becauſe the Colchians had a reſemblance to the Egyptians by their brown curled hair, their language, and circumciſion. But it appears that before this colony the country had inhabitants, who are ſaid to have come from Armenia. Colchis ſent us pheaſants, ſo called from a ſmall iſland in the river Phaſis, where they were found in great quantity. Some of its rivers waſhed down, in their courſe, ſmall ſcales of gold, which were caught in fleeces extended by the inhabitants at the bottom of the water; and this, no doubt, gave riſe to the fable of the golden fleece. Commercial nations went thither to trade for theſe treaſures: and hence the expedition of

the Argonauts, who were merchants, or free-booters, and perhaps both. The king's daughter having conceived a paſſion for Jaſon, their chief, ſmoothed every difficulty that ſtood in the way of their deſigns, whether robbery or commerce, and ſuffered herſelf to be carried off. Such appears to have been the real fact in regard to the hiſtory of this famous expedition. In more modern times Dioſcourias was a city celebrated by its opulence and trade. It was much frequented by merchants from every part of the world. Pliny poſitively ſays, with the tone of a man who wiſhes to be believed, that three hundred different languages were ſpoken in this city; and that the merchants of Rome, who traded to Colchis, were obliged to have a hundred and thirty interpreters in Dioſcourias. Mithridates had a ſon who was king of Colchis; and Pompey dragged another of its kings at his car in triumph. We find alſo a king of Colchis under Trajan. It was governed by the prætors of Bithynia and Pontus, but without being incorporated with theſe provinces.

IBERIA.

Iberia, between Colchis, Pontus, Caucaſus, Albania, and Media.

Iberia is that part of Georgia which the Perſians, to whom it belongs, call Gurgiſtan. It is as deſtitute of rivers as Colchis is full of them. The names of ſeveral tribes of its ancient inhabitants are ſtill preſerved. It is difficult to believe

that Spain, called by the ancients Iberia, derived its name from this Aſiatic Iberia, and that the Argonauts tranſported thither a number of Iberians, ſufficient to people that large country of Europe. The accounts given of the ancient inhabitants ſhew that they were a people worthy of eſteem. They were divided into four claſſes—the nobility, prieſts, ſoldiers, and farmers. The king was taken from the firſt claſs, and was always the oldeſt relation of the deceaſed monarch. Age thus placed at the head of juſtice, and the army, a prince of the royal blood. The prieſts, beſides the functions of their miniſtry, diſcharged thoſe alſo of judges. The farmers were ſkilled in agriculture; the citizens were induſtrious; and the inhabitants of the mountains were ſomewhat ſavage and rude. This nation conſiſted of two kinds of people: one part by their want of civilization were like the Scythians and Sarmatians; the other, thoſe who reſided in the plains, might, on account of the eaſe and dignity of their manners, be compared to the Medes and the Armenians. One of their kings, named Artoces, held out for ſome time againſt Pompey; but courage, badly directed, was at length obliged to give way to valour, aſſiſted by diſcipline. The Iberians, though routed, would never ſurrender. They retired to a foreſt, and wounded the Romans with their arrows from the tops of trees; but the Romans ſet fire to them, and they all periſhed in the con-

flagration. The emperors long conſidered Iberia as a rampart againſt the invaſion of the barbarians; and for this reaſon they ſupported its kings, as being more intereſted than ſmall confederations in defending their ſtates againſt every attack. The names of ſeveral of their princes, till the reign of Veſpaſian, have been preſerved; but we are unacquainted with their actions.

ALBANIA.

Albania, between Iberia, the Caſpian ſea, Caucaſus, and Armenia.

The Perſians, who are the preſent poſſeſſors of Albania, have called it the province of Shirvan. It is exceedingly fertile, and produces excellent wine. Its inhabitants lived, for a long time, in a ſtate of ſimplicity highly extolled; but which approached near to ſtupidity, ſince they were incapable of counting above a hundred, and were unacquainted with weights and meaſures. It is ſaid alſo that courage among them belonged excluſively to the women; becauſe they were deſcended from the Amazons. But did not the blood of theſe female warriors flow alſo in the veins of the men? That bloom of health which ſhone forth in the faces of the women may be aſcribed to the ſalubrity of the climate. The Albanians had a moſt profound reſpect for old age. We are told by ancient authors that, in this ſmall diſtrict, there were twenty-ſix petty ſovereignties, in each of which a different language was ſpoken; that a chief united theſe principalities, formed them into one king-

dom, and put an end to that multiplicity of languages which is hardly credible. One of its ſovereigns, named Oræſes, reſiſted Pompey. His army was commanded by his brother Coſis, whom the Roman general was not able to overcome but by ſtratagem; and Coſis, even though ſurprized, did not yield the victory but with his life. He periſhed by the hand of Pompey, during a cloſe combat in the hotteſt of the battle. The kings of Albania were treated by the Eaſtern emperors with more or leſs kindneſs, according to circumſtances; ſometimes reſpected, and ſometimes deſpiſed. This is all that we know of them from the imperfect accounts left us by hiſtorians. They, however, ſeem to ſhew that Albania had kings even under Juſtinian II.

The three kingdoms laſt mentioned, Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, form the moſt conſiderable part of Georgia. Some modern travellers give a moſt flattering deſcription of the country, and extol the admirable purity of its air; the excellence of its fruits, the exquiſite delicacy of its wines, and the beauty of its women. "The Georgian "women," ſays Chardin, "are tall, and have "a dignified air, their ſhape is not ſpoilt by cor- "pulency, and their waiſts are exceedingly de- "licate." Tournefort ſays: "The Georgian "women did not at all ſurprize me. I expected "to ſee perfect beauties. They indeed are no "ways diſagreeable, and may even paſs for beau-

" ties, if compared with the Curds." This is but a poor panegyric. The two obſervers cannot be reconciled, but by ſaying that in Georgia, as everywhere elſe, ſome of the women are beautiful, ſome moderately ſo, and others ugly.

Bosporus.

Boſporus, between Colchis, the Pontus Euxinus, and the Tanais.

We cannot better point out the ſituation of the ſtates of the Boſporian princes, than by ſaying that the Crimea was the centre of them. Setting out from that peninſula, and extending thence into the neighbouring countries, we ſhall ſometimes comprehend in them the Palus Mæotis, and ſometimes exclude it. This may ſerve to explain why the ancient authors have not offended againſt the truth, when ſome of them ſay that the kingdom of Boſporus was covered with foreſts and eternal fogs, and that the ſun there never diſplayed his beneficent rays; others, that it was fertile, agreeable, well cultivated, and between the mountains interſperſed with woods and delightful plains. The ſame diverſity is found in the manners of the inhabitants; in one place mild, in another ſavage: in the accounts of their commerce; flouriſhing in one diſtrict, in another totally annihilated: in the topographic deſcription of the country; ornamented with populous cities, placed cloſe to ſcattered hamlets ſcarcely inhabited: and laſtly, in the fragments of the hiſtory of their kings; weak and powerful, conquerors and ſubdued. It would ap-

pear that the fate of this country—paſſing in ſucceſſion from the hands of its kings to the Romans; from the latter to the Thracians, the Scythians and the Sarmatians; from them to the Genoeſe, during the Cruſades; from the Genoeſe to the Tartars; from the Tartars to the Turks; and from the Turks to the Ruſſians—has been to experience continual changes.

Boſporus, at a very early period, was governed by kings; who were intimately connected with the Athenians. The chief bond of their union was commerce. The trade which theſe republicans had eſtabliſhed in Boſporus was of ſo much value to them, that they conſecrated the remembrance of it by religious monuments. Two of theſe kings made an annual preſent to Demoſthenes of a thouſand buſhels of wheat. The Athenians believed, no doubt, when the orator, in his harangues, ſaid any thing in favour of the commerce of Boſporus, that he ſpoke only with a view to the intereſt of his fellow-citizens. Such is the manner in which republics are conducted. In the fragments left us of the hiſtory of the kings of Boſporus, we find bloody wars; the people ruined, court intrigues, aſſaſſinations, and the maſſacre of whole families; but we find alſo ſometimes princes of a good diſpoſition, or who became good after having been bad, ſuch as Eumelus, who cauſed his two brothers after they had revolted to be butchered, together with their children and friends.

The people, incenſed by this barbarity, attempted to expel him from the throne; but he appeaſed them by freeing them from all taxes, and promiſing to govern them with moderation and juſtice, which he accordingly did. Such a king, it is ſaid, never reigned over Boſporus.

The hiſtory of the Boſporian princes is loſt in the troubles of the Roman empire on the fall of the republic. Each party had alternately in its army the kings of Boſporus with their troops. They acquired eſteem by their valour, and often obtained high command on important occaſions. We are told of an Aſander, who held one of the firſt offices in the army of Auguſtus. The emperor, however, ſuſpecting his fidelity, gave the command of the Boſporian troops in the Roman army to another, which ſo affected him that he ſoon after died of grief. He was ninety-three years of age.

MEDIA.

Media Atropatene.

We make mention of this Media rather as a ſingularity than as a kingdom. It was a part diſmembered from the Great Media, which reſiſted the efforts of Alexander, and remained free under its ruler Atropatus, from whom it was called Media Atropatene. It maintained itſelf againſt the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Gaza was its capital. This province, or ſmall kingdom, had both land and marine forces. The poſſeſſion of it was not a

matter of indifference to the neighbouring kings. The Parthians enjoyed it oftenest, and for the longest period. The kings of that country gave the crown to their youngest brothers.

BACTRIA.

Bactria, between Margiana, the river Oxus, Asiatic Scythia, and the country of the Messagetæ.

Bactria, or Bactriana, at present Choraſſan, has the honour of giving to the moral world the celebrated Zoroaſter. It is very ſingular that a legiſlator, ſo pure, and ſo humane, ſhould be born in a country where the women, both married and unmarried, were unacquainted with chaſtity; and where the inhabitants kept dogs, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of ſepulchral, for the purpoſe of devouring thoſe who lived too long. It was, perhaps, by the vicious diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and their horrid practices filling the honeſt and ſenſible mind of Zoroaſter with diſguſt, that he was formed to virtue. Good ſometimes ariſes from an exceſs of evil. Extremes meet in the phyſical ſtate of Bactria, as it is ſuppoſed they may have approached in the morals of the people. Some of its diſtricts, watered by the Oxus, were remarkable for their fertility and productions. From theſe regions, where the eye is delighted by the beauty of the meads, where numerous herds are ſeen ſporting in the plains, the traveller, advancing ſouthwards, enters deſerts which can be traverſed only in the night-time by following

the direction of the ſtars, at the riſque of being buried under mountains of ſand.

The Bactrians have at all times been warlike, and their kings turned this propenſity of the people to their advantage. The firſt after Alexander was Theodotus, who from being governor became ſovereign. He was dethroned by his brother Euthydemus; and the latter was ſucceeded, but without violence, by a third brother named Menander, who, becauſe a conqueror, and becauſe the honour which he acquired to his kingdom made the Bactrians blind to the horrors of war, was adored by his ſubjects. He was deeply regretted by them when he died; and as each city wiſhed to have his body, to prevent all diſcord, the aſhes were diſtributed among them. Each of them preſerved the valuable remains in a monument, which atteſted both the merit of the monarch and the affection of the people. One of the ſucceeding princes was ſo imprudent as to entruſt the government of the kingdom to his ſon, while he was abſent on a diſtant expedition. This young prince, being accuſtomed to authority, could not behold the return of his father without diſpleaſure, and therefore he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. But he derived very little advantage from his crime, which ſcattered the ſeeds of diſcord among his ſubjects. One party called in the Parthians, who put to death the parricide, and ſeized on Bac-

triana. From their hands it paſſed into thoſe of the Scythians, then to the Huns, and afterwards to the Perſians, who have it ſtill in their poſſeſſion.

EDESSA.

The kingdom of Edeſſa conſiſted of one city, and without doubt a territory of ſome extent, enriched and rendered famous by a temple dedicated to the Syrian goddeſs. The chiefs of this petty ſtate, called ſometimes kings and ſometimes princes, were all named Abgarus. Pompey did not diſdain to form an alliance with one of them, who aſſiſted him by his ſervices and advice, as well as by ſupplying him with proviſions. The defection of an Abgarus occaſioned a Roman army to be defeated by the Parthians. Trajan treated with great reſpect an Abgarus VI. a prince worthy of eſteem on account of his virtues. Caracalla put an end to this ſmall kingdom, by cauſing the laſt of theſe monarchs to be arreſted and kept a priſoner at Rome. He reduced it to a Roman province. Edeſſa in Meſopotamia.

EMESA.

The firſt king of Emeſa, ſituated in Syria on the banks of the Orontes, was an Arab, who eſtabliſhed and preſerved this ſmall kingdom in conſequence of the diſunion of the Seleucidæ. Its monarchs were ſome of thoſe petty princes whom the Romans honoured with their alliance when they had need of them, and whom they deſpiſed Emeſa in Syria.

when their purpoſes were anſwered. The emperor Octavianus, however, did not ſo far deſpiſe one of the kings of Emeſa, named Alexander, as to ſuffer him to enjoy his ſmall monarchy in peace. He had been indebted for it to Anthony, and this was enough to induce Auguſtus to turn his arms againſt him. Auguſtus defeated him, and after leading him in triumph cauſed him to be put to death. The Emeſians and the Jews were often in alliance. The Arabs poſſeſſed Emeſa under the name of the Ituræans.

ADIABENE.

Adiabene in Syria.

Adiabene is ſtill a ſmall kingdom, which was indebted for its origin to the fall of the Seleucidæ. One of its kings, named Monobazus, married his ſiſter Helena, who brought him two ſons, Monobazus, the eldeſt, and Izates. The king's whole affection was centred in Izates, the younger; and as this predilection occaſioned a great deal of trouble at court, which was filled with many other ſons of the monarch, he ſent Izates to finiſh his education with a neighbouring prince. Finding himſelf advance in age, he was deſirous to ſee Izates again before he died. When this beloved ſon arrived, his father, after the moſt tender reception, made him a preſent of a province perpetually perfumed with odoriferous plants, where he lived till his father's death. When the monarch had cloſed his eyes, his widow Helena aſſembled

the grandees of the kingdom, and ſaid: "Izates "has been choſen by his father to ſucceed him; "but before he is proclaimed I am deſirous to "know your wiſhes, being fully perſuaded that "no prince can reign with tranquillity who has "not the happineſs of pleaſing his ſubjects." On this ſpeech they all threw themſelves proſtrate, and ſwore that they would make it a ſacred duty to obey Izates. "Only give us orders, princeſs," added they, "if you dread any of the king's "other children, we are ready to diſpatch them." "Moderate your eagerneſs," replied the merciful Helena; "let no blood be ſhed but by the "command of the new king." The nobility, however, demanded that theſe princes ſuppoſed to be dangerous might at leaſt be placed under a truſty and ſure guard; and they begged her to chooſe any one of her ſons, whom ſhe might think moſt animated with zeal and love for the good of the public, to govern till the new monarch ſhould arrive. But will it be believed that Helena, after having manifeſted her attachment to Izates, named her eldeſt ſon Monobazus to the throne, giving him the crown, the ſceptre, a ring, and the royal mantle, along with ſovereign power. Monobazus, however, returned the whole to Izates as ſoon as he arrived. Theſe two brothers lived with great unanimity, even in regard to religion. They both abjured the idolatry of their anceſtors and embraced Judaiſm, after the example of their

mother Helena. Monobazus, inſtead of turning to advantage the troubles occaſioned in the kingdom by this change of religion, aſſiſted Izates to allay them. The king, therefore, at his death, though he had children, left the crown to his brother, who was not able to tranſmit it to his nephews, becauſe they were carried by Titus to Rome after the taking of Jeruſalem, where their grandmother had educated them in the Jewiſh religion. It is not known whether they ever returned to their own country. We find ſome kings of their race, or at leaſt of the ſame name, till the reign of Sapor II. king of Perſia, who made himſelf maſter of Adiabene.

Elymais.

Elymais, between Media and the Perſian Gulph.

Elymais was divided into three provinces. The origin of this kingdom is as old as the decline of the Perſian empire. Its inhabitants were excellent warriors, celebrated for their dexterity in diſcharging arrows. Neither the Parthians nor the Syro-Macedonians were able to ſubdue them. They were always governed by native princes, who are known only by their names inſerted in treaties made with other monarchs. Scarcely ſhould we have been acquainted with the Elymæans themſelves, had they not poſſeſſed temples of great opulence, which tempted the avarice of various princes. A king of the Parthians carried away from them great riches; but Antiochus Epiphanes

was repulsed from one of the temples of Diana, Antiochus the Great from one dedicated to Jupiter, and the sacrilegious plunderers experienced shameful defeats.

Characene.

Characene, on the Persian Gulph, between the Tigris and the Eulœus.

The small kingdom of Characene, which did not extend beyond the city of Chorax, was founded by the Arabs. It was at first called Alexandria, from the name of its founder, and afterwards Antioch, because it had been repaired by Antiochus. It got the name of Chorax, that is, the Mole, from an Arabian king having secured it, as well as the whole country, from the inundations of the Tigris by a mole a league and a half in length. Its three names, therefore, are all expressive of benefits. Of the only two kings of Characene with whom we are acquainted, one lived eighty-five, and the other ninety-five years.

Comagene.

Comagene in Syria.

After two kings, posterior to the time of Pompey—for before that period none are mentioned in history—Antiochus II. who attained to the throne with the consent of Augustus, left the crown under Tiberius without a master. The people wished to be governed by a king, and the nobility by a Roman magistrate. The motives for this difference of opinion may be readily conceived. The people, when not blinded by prejudice, must see their tranquillity in the authority of one chief, who may be able to prevent the oppression of the

great; and the latter prefer the repreſentative of a diſtant power which they govern, and in which they participate. The opinion of the nobility prevailed, but their triumph was not of long duration. Caligula reſtored the kingly government in Comagene, which under Veſpaſian was reduced into the form of a Roman province.

CHALCIDENE.

Chalcidene, at the foot of Mount Lebanon.

The capital of the ſmall kingdom of Chalcidony was Chalcis, the poſition of which often rendered it the theatre of the wars between the kings of Syria, Damaſcus, Cœleſyria, Judea, and Egypt. One of its kings, named Ptolemy, entruſted his ſon Philippion to eſcort to him Alexandria, the daughter of Ariſtobulus king of the Jews, a princeſs of great beauty, of whom he was enamoured; but the ſon having as good a taſte as his father, married her by the way. We find between Lyſias his ſucceſſor, and Pacorus king of the Parthians, a treaty which contains this ſingular clauſe, that the Parthian was to furniſh him with troops againſt a king of Judea, on his giving him a large ſum of money, and five hundred women.

JEWS.

Return from the Babyloniſh captivity, 2465.

The intercourſe which ſeveral of theſe petty kingdoms had with the Jews, leads us back to theſe people. The ſeventy years' captivity announced by the prophet Jeremiah having elapſed, it pleaſed God to raiſe to the throne of Perſia the

famous Cyrus. The firſt year of his reign he publiſhed an edict, in conſequence of which the Jews were permitted to return to Judea. Some of them had the addreſs or induſtry to obtain riches, and even to riſe from a ſtate of ſlavery to offices of dignity. It was not theſe, therefore, who were anxious to quit thoſe places where they had formed for themſelves a new country, but the poorer claſſes with a few zealots, the number of whom is eſtimated at about ſeventy thouſand. It would have been impoſſible for the greater part of them to undertake the journey, had they not been aſſiſted by the charitable contributions of their countrymen, who remained in Babylon, and different parts of the Aſſyrian empire, where they had been ſold as ſlaves.

The ſacred utenſils, which had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus cauſed to be reſtored to Zerubbabel, a prince of the blood royal, whom, together with Joſhua, he placed at the head of the colony. Theſe chiefs collected as many as they could of the prieſts, levites, ſingers, and other officers of the temple, which they were authorized to rebuild. The dimenſions of it were ſettled by Cyrus. This was the firſt work which engaged the attention of the Jews after their return; but they found themſelves interrupted in their deſign by the Samaritans, who had offered to aſſiſt them. Either from jealouſy or contempt the Jews refuſed their aid, and from that moment

the Samaritans reſumed their former ſentiments of enmity, which they before ſeemed deſirous of abjuring. They ſucceeded in cauſing the work to be ſuſpended by authority for ſeveral years; but it was again begun by the order of Darius, and carried to ſuch a ſtate of advancement as allowed of its being ſolemnly dedicated.

Ezra, 2541. Eſther, raiſed to the throne of Ahaſuerus, became to the Jews a protection, from which they derived great advantages. By her influence the adminiſtration of the body aſſembled in Judea was entruſted to Ezra of the family of Aaron, a man equally zealous as learned. He ſet out for Jeruſalem with a new company, and money ariſing from the donations ſent by the rich to their indigent brethren. Ezra applied himſelf chiefly to thoſe things which regarded religion. He reſtored the Jewiſh doctrine to its primitive ſtate, made an accurate copy of the ſacred books, and corrected the liturgy. An important deviation from the law attracted alſo his attention. Many of the Jews, even prieſts and levites, having contracted marriages with foreigners, Ezra obliged them to promiſe an oath, that they would ſend away not only their wives but alſo their children.

Nehemiah, 2554 Notwithſtanding the favours of the Perſian monarch, the Jewiſh colony did not proſper as had been expected. It appears that Ezra was a man more calculated for religious affairs than affairs of ſtate. Nehemiah, cup-bearer of the king of

Perſia, a Jew diſtinguiſhed by his talents and virtue, became much intereſted in the ſucceſs of the re-eſtabliſhment of his brethren. He procured leave to go to Judea; and ſet out, not as his predeceſſor, with a timid and indigent company, but with a good eſcort, and very extenſive powers, in order to reſtore the police, and to remove every obſtacle that malevolence or jealouſy might throw in the way of his deſigns. His firſt meaſure was to reſtore the walls of Jeruſalem. He engaged thoſe moſt diſtinguiſhed by their birth, or their riches, to build houſes in the city; and when he had aſſembled them, he announced a public reading of the law. Ezra aſſumed this taſk himſelf, and explained it verſe by verſe. The people melted into tears of repentance for their paſt tranſgreſſions; and Nehemiah took advantage of this diſpoſition to make them enter into a ſolemn engagement reſpecting three important points: 1. Not to contract marriages with idolaters, and to conſent to the diſſolution of thoſe which already exiſted. 2. To obſerve the ſabbaths every ſeventh day, as well as every ſeventh year. 3. To pay with punctuality the tribute to the temple, for the reparation of the building, and the ſupport of its miniſters.

Nehemiah was obliged by the duties of his office to return to Perſia, and the people finding him no longer preſent forgot their engagements. The ſervile complacency of the high-prieſt ſuffered

ſtrangers to be introduced into the interior parts of the temple, and to lodge in it; and the magiſtrates allowed trade and commerce to be carried on on the ſabbath-day. The people ceaſed paying tribute to the temple, and tythes to the levites. The ſacrifices were interrupted. Five years' abſence produced all theſe diſorders. Nehemiah, however, returned, and by his firmneſs, mild conduct, example, and exhortations, brought the people back to their civil and religious duties. We do not know how long the government of this virtuous man continued. He was exceedingly rich, and poſſeſſed an immenſe private fortune, ſince he admitted every day to his table a hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation, beſides foreigners of diſtinction, who came to Jeruſalem. Yet he never touched any of the ſalary or perquiſites attached to his office as governor. After him it was aboliſhed, and the power paſſed entirely into the hands of the high-prieſts, or thoſe who preſided over the ſacrifices. We may aſcribe the misfortunes with which the Jews after that period were oppreſſed to thoſe who aſpired at that high dignity.

High-prieſts. 2016.

It would be difficult to give intereſt to thoſe intrigues by which they were raiſed to the pontifical chair, and driven from it. We always find one ambitious man, either alone or aſſiſted by his family, wreſting the tiara from another, and placing it upon his own head. For whole cen-

turies this was the chief object on which every mind was employed, and which engaged public attention. The candidates purchaſed the high-prieſthood from the Syrian governors, retained it by the force of money, and oppreſſed the people, in order that they might fulfil their pecuniary engagements. There was no energy among theſe degraded people; no dignity among the great; no foreſight, no thought of purſuing proper meaſures againſt foreign invaders; and conſequently terror and conſternation prevailed on the leaſt alarm. Amidſt this uniformity of events, deſtitute of ſplendour or greatneſs, it would be difficult, as already obſerved, to find any of thoſe ſtriking incidents which form as it were the ſoul of hiſtory, and render it agreeable.

Johanan, the firſt of theſe prieſts who became ſovereigns, fought with his brother even in the temple, becauſe he had made intereſt with Bagoſes, the governor of Phœnicia, in order that he might ſucceed him. Having knocked his brother down, Bagoſes, who was informed of the accident, ran to ſeparate them. The blow proved mortal, and the people attempted to prevent Bagoſes from entering the temple, leſt it ſhould be prophaned. Bagoſes, however, forced the gates, and ſaid: "Am I more impure than the carcaſe "extended at my feet?" As corporal puniſhment inflicted on the murderer would have pro-

duced him nothing, he ſubjected him to a heavy fine.

Jaddua. 2648. The interview between the high-prieſt Jaddua and Alexander was attended with ſome remarkable circumſtances. The conqueror had come to Jeruſalem, highly incenſed againſt the Jews, becauſe they refuſed to ſupply his troops with proviſions during the ſiege of Tyre. As it was impoſſible for them to defend themſelves againſt a triumphant army, commanded by ſuch a chief, Jaddua ordered the people to dreſs themſelves in white, and placing himſelf at their head, in his ſacerdotal robes, accompanied by the other prieſts, habited in the like manner, they all went in proceſſion to meet Alexander. The conqueror of Aſia was much ſtruck with this religious pomp. He approached the high-prieſt with reſpect, and inclined his body before him with veneration. His courtiers having expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at this ſubmiſſion; "It is not," ſaid he, "the high-"prieſt whom I adore, but that God whoſe mini-"ſter he is. I now recognize the miniſter, whom "the ſame God ſhewed me in a dream, to en-"courage me to the conqueſt of Perſia." The high-prieſt declared that this ſuppliant proceſſion had been preſcribed to him in a dream alſo; and Alexander, on his ſide, aſſigned a divine cauſe for his clemency. All this may be explained without any miracle. We know by the journey

which Alexander undertook to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, that he was fond of inſpiring a belief of his being protected by the deity. It was the intereſt of the high-prieſt alſo to diffuſe an opinion calculated to give confidence to the people, and which might induce the conqueror to entertain favourable ſentiments towards a nation who were under the protection of God. The Jews ſhewed to Alexander thoſe propheſies which announced his victories. He admired the temple, and offered up ſacrifice in it. During his whole reign the Jews enjoyed great tranquillity. He invited a great number of them to Alexandria, his new city, and gave them great privileges.

The ſtrictneſs of the Jews in obſerving the ſabbath, occaſioned Jeruſalem to be taken by Ptolemy. Knowing that they were determined not to defend themſelves on that day, he appeared before the city, and entered it without the leaſt reſiſtance. He carried with him to Egypt a hundred thouſand priſoners. The immenſe number of people taken from Judea on different occaſions is aſtoniſhing. We have no inſtance in hiſtory of any other people always deſtroyed in the ſame manner, and yet always reviving.

We might claſs together the adventure of Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt, and that of Heliodorus, the envoy of a governor of Syria, already mentioned; but which re-appears here with new circumſtances. Ptolemy, ſtruck with Heliodorus.

the auguſt majeſty of the Jewiſh ceremonies, thought he ſhould behold more if he entered the interior part of the temple, which was acceſſible only to the prieſts. He attempted, therefore, to force his way thither; but being repulſed by a divine power, he was ſo overcome by terror, that his ſervants were obliged to carry him out of the temple. Heliodorus, who came with a more criminal deſign, experienced worſe treatment. He had been diſpatched by the governor of Syria for the purpoſe of carrying away immenſe treaſures, which Simon, a mortal enemy of Onias, the high-prieſt, had told him were concealed in the temple. In vain did the high-prieſt repreſent to him the danger of his enterprize: he entered boldly, at the head of a body of Syrians; but they were inſtantly ſeized with a ſudden terror, and all dropped down. Heliodorus, the moſt criminal of the whole, was ſo dreadfully beat by a man on horſeback, ſurrounded by a blaze of light, that it was a long time before he recovered. The king of Syria, when he heard of this adventure, imagined that Heliodorus had exaggerated in regard to his treatment, and being ſtill tempted with the idea of theſe pretended treaſures, he endeavoured to find ſome perſon in whom he could confide to ſend in queſt of them. "If there is any one "whom you wiſh to puniſh," ſaid Heliodorus to him, "diſpatch him on this miſſion; and you "may reſt aſſured that he will return in ſuch a

" ſtate as not to leave you in any doubt reſpect-
" ing the protection which God grants to his
" temple."

The hatred of Simon and Onias was exceedingly fatal to the Jews. It gave riſe in Jeruſalem to factions, ſome of which endeavoured to procure ſupport from the governors of Syria, and others from the courtiers and counſellors of the king. Some of the rivals aſſaſſinated each other; and ſome ruined themſelves by the exorbitant price they gave for the dignity at which they aſpired. The high-prieſthood fell to the lot of the higheſt bidder; and it was even ſeen in the hands of a man who was not a Jew. The people were divided between the candidates; the city beſieged the citadel, and the contending chiefs were two brothers alternately conquerors and conquered. They were not ſparing of puniſhment: thoſe who oppoſed them were ſubjected to torture and death. Antiochus, who was called in by one of the parties, came to fill up the meaſure of theſe horrid events. He took the city in three days; ſold forty thouſand Jews to the neighbouring nations; and carried away from the temple the vaſes and ornaments of ſilver. Being inſpired with a ſort of fury againſt theſe unfortunate people, he inflicted on them a humiliating puniſhment, which they had ſuffered in Egypt from the Romans. " Go," ſaid he to Apollonius, one of his generals, " plun-
" der their cities, put the men to the ſword, and

"ſell the women and children." This cruel order was ſtrictly carried into execution, eſpecially at Jeruſalem. Apollonius waited for the ſabbath-day, when the Jews were accuſtomed to aſſemble, but on which it was unlawful for them to make any defenſe, and let looſe his ſoldiers on the unarmed multitude. After the maſſacre the city was given up to pillage. The Syrians deſtroyed the moſt beautiful edifices, and with their ruins built on an eminence in the city of David a fortreſs, which commanded the temple.

Perſecution. The ſacrifices then ceaſed. Theſe, unfortunately, were all that remained of their religion, among a people divided by their high-prieſts, embarraſſed in their choice, a prey to ſchiſm, and whoſe affection was alienated by the oppreſſion of their chiefs. Scarcely did there exiſt any external ſigns of worſhip; even circumciſion was neglected: but amidſt this almoſt general indifference there were ſtill ſome men ſincerely attached to their religion, whoſe admonitions and example rekindled the ſacred flame of zeal which had been almoſt extinguiſhed.

This zeal burſt forth on account of an edict of Antiochus, which forbade any other gods than his own to be worſhipped in his ſtates. The governors of Judea, in particular, had orders to put this edict in execution with the moſt inflexible ſeverity. Atheneas, the miniſter of Antiochus, being diſpatched to Jeruſalem, dedicated the tem-

ple to Jupiter Olympias, and cauſed the ſtatue of that deity to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings. Thoſe who wiſhed to ſacrifice were carried thither; and if they refuſed, they were immediately maſſacred, or condemned to periſh amidſt lingering torments. All Judea became the theatre of pagan idolatry; and the obſervance of the ſabbath and circumciſion was forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties. The rigor of this prohibition was extended to thoſe women who circumciſed the children whom they brought forth. Theſe unfortunate mothers were led through the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, with their children hung about their necks, and afterwards thrown headlong from the ſummit of the walls. Thoſe even who had merely been preſent at the ceremony of circumciſion were put to death.

The barbarous Atheneas ſurprized in a cavern a numerous company who had aſſembled there to celebrate the ſabbath. After having, in vain, offered them an amneſty, if they would abjure their religion, he waited for the ſabbath-day, when men, women, and children, were all put to the ſword without making the leaſt reſiſtance. His officers deſtroyed all the ſacred books which they could find, and every Jew convicted of having concealed any of them was put to death. Among thoſe whoſe heroic conſtancy was crowned by martyrdom we muſt diſtinguiſh the venerable Eleazer. Having refuſed to eat ſwines' fleſh, his

executioners begged that out of regard to his extreme old age he would consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, in order that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed his command. The virtuous old man, however, replied that he would prefer the most cruel death to that base dissimulation, which might be imitated by others; and he submitted to punishment with firmness and resignation. A woman also triumphed over the fury of Antiochus himself. As she had seven children, all named Maccabees, the barbarian thought he could humble her by consigning them all to punishment in succession before her eyes. But this courageous mother had the resolution to exhort them one after the other to submit to their fate, and expired herself after them under the hands of the executioner.

Mattathias. It was not at Jerusalem alone that persecution exercised its severity. Several families of distinction, who had fled from that unfortunate city, were followed by the king's emissaries, and tormented even in the retreats to which they had retired for shelter. Apelles, one of these envoys of Antiochus, having arrived in a small city, called Modin, to which a priest, named Mattathias, had retired with his family, he assembled the people to communicate to them the orders of his master. Flattering himself with the hope that the example of Mattathias and his five sons would make a successful impression on the multitude, he endea-

voured to ſeduce him and his ſons by the moſt dazzling promiſes; but the virtuous father replied in a tone ſufficiently elevated to be heard by the aſſembly: "If the whole nation, and even the "whole univerſe, ſhould obey the king, I and my "five ſons will remain faithful to God till our "lateſt breath." As he concluded theſe words, a Jew advanced to ſacrifice to an idol; but Mattathias, filled with grief, and recollecting what was commanded by the law of Moſes in the like caſes, ruſhed upon the apoſtate, and put him to death. His ſons then ſtabbed the king's officer, overturned the altar and the idols, and running through the city, cried out: "Let thoſe who are "zealous for the law of God follow us." They afterwards fled to the deſert, and were joined by a great many Jews who wiſhed to eſcape perſecution. In a little time Mattathias found himſelf at the head of a ſmall army, and ventured to appear in the field. He had taken care to conſult the doctors of the law, in regard to reſting on the ſabbath-day, the too rigid obſervance of which had often coſt ſo dear to the Jews. They replied that it was lawful on that day to take up arms for ſelf-defenſe; and this deciſion being privately communicated to the people, acquired the force of a law. Mattathias, however, only entered the career of glory, which he opened to his ſons, named Maccabees, who purſued it with honour to themſelves and to their country.

Maccabees, 2833. Judas Maccabeus, the eldeſt, aſſumed the command in conſequence of his father's choice. His firſt exploits might be conſidered as raſh, were it not neceſſary at the commencement of a revolution to aſtoniſh by acts of proweſs. Three victories, obtained with troops far inferior in number to the Syrians, opened for him the gates of Jeruſalem. He gave the neceſſary repairs to the temple, and re-eſtabliſhed divine worſhip in it as before. As the citadel was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, ſo that he could not attempt to beſiege it, he contented himſelf with fortifying the temple, in order to ſecure it from every attack. Such ſplendid ſucceſs excited a great many enemies to the Jews. They were intermixed in their own country with a collection of people from different nations, who had been introduced into it during the captivity, and who did not behold with a favourable eye the return of the ancient poſſeſſors. The Syrians excited theſe foreigners againſt the children of Iſrael. They were attacked on every ſide, and the war was carried on with all the fury and all the horrors of civil diſcord; but Judas being always conqueror, obliged Lyſias, the principal commander of the king of Syria, to ſue for peace. It was concluded at the end of three years by the interceſſion of the Romans, whoſe alliance the Jewiſh general had found means to ſecure. But the other Syrian chiefs did not think themſelves obliged to put an end

to hoſtilities: they not only continued the war themſelves, but by the Arabs, and other neighbouring nations, whom they prevailed on to take up arms. Judas, however, ſtill remained conqueror.

As the citadel of Jeruſalem was ſtill in the hands of the Syrians, Judas made preparations for attacking it. This deſign being known at the court of Syria, a formidable army, commanded by the king in perſon, began its march for Judea. The Jewiſh general with a very inferior force rendered this great army uſeleſs for the principal deſign of the Syrian monarch, which was to impoſe on Judea a yoke ſo ponderous, that the people ſhould never be able to ſhake it off. By a treaty of peace Judas obtained a promiſe that the Jews were never to be moleſted on account of their religion, yet he could not refuſe to receive the king of Syria in Jeruſalem. The monarch's pretence for entering it was curioſity; but when he had once got within the walls he ſhewed ſo little regard to probity, that he cauſed them to be diſmantled. He left in it, as commandant, Bacchides, governor of Meſopotamia, and gave the dignity of high-prieſt to Alcimus, who was indeed of the ſacerdotal dignity, but as dangerous by his artful diſpoſition as contemptible by his vices.

Theſe two men had an equal intereſt in getting rid of Judas: the commandant, in order that he might remove every obſtacle to his power; and

the high-prieſt, that he might find no oppoſition to his rapine. They concerted therefore together, and laid ſnares for the brave and virtuous Judas; but he found means to avoid them. His greateſt enemies were apoſtate Jews, all united under Alcimus, who was an apoſtate himſelf. Judas wiſhed the people to hold no intercourſe with the deſerters of the law of God, and even to carry on a war of extermination againſt them; but he was not able to make the chiefs of his party adopt the ſame opinion. They were perſuaded that by mildneſs and proper treatment the faction of Alcimus might be inſenſibly brought back to their duty. This the high-prieſt, indeed, apprehended, and therefore he ſet out for Syria, with a deſign to incenſe the king againſt Judas, whoſe diſpoſition and influence he endeavoured to make appear as highly formidable. The calumniator obtained an army, commanded by Nicanor, who had always declared himſelf an enemy to the Jews; and it was recommended to him not to omit any means that were likely to ſecure Maccabeus.

Nicanor thought proper to prefer ſtratagem to force. He repaired, therefore, to Jeruſalem, to have an interview with Judas, and to remove every ſuſpicion he diſmiſſed part of his troops. The Jew, however, amidſt all the complacency of the Syrian, could eaſily diſcover his perfidious intentions; and in order to avoid them he betook himſelf to flight. Nicanor was highly incenſed

by this wiſe precaution, and in the depth of his deſpair gave vent to imprecations againſt the whole nation, and even blaſphemed God himſelf. This fury convinced the faithful Jews how much they had erred in not purſuing thoſe hoſtile meaſures which Judas had adviſed. They aſſembled around him, and even in ſufficient number to enable him to give battle to Nicanor. The Syrian was defeated and killed, and Judas returned to Jeruſalem. He took advantage of an interval of peace to ſtrengthen the alliance which the Jews had already entered into with the Romans. The ſenate cauſed the decree by which it was confirmed to be engraven on a plate of braſs, and forbade Demetrius, king of Syria, to make any attempts againſt the Jewiſh nation. But Demetrius, notwithſtanding this prohibition, on a requeſt made by Alcimus, ſent a new army, under the command of Bacchides, to avenge the defeat of Nicanor. Judas was obliged to abandon Jeruſalem, and Bacchides purſued him. The Jews, intimidated by the great number of the enemy, though they were well acquainted with the intrepidity of their chief, ſhewed a repugnance to combat. Judas, however, reanimated their courage, and falling upon the Syrians, defeated their right wing, but he was ſurrounded by the left, and died in the arms of victory. Thus fell the brave defender of Iſrael.

He had a worthy ſucceſſor in his brother Jo- Jonathan, 2839.

nathan, who found himſelf in more favourable circumſtances, and knew how to turn them to advantage. At this period the Seleucidæ, on account of their quarrels with each other, and with the kings of Egypt, their allies, their relations, and their enemies, were beginning to decline. Favoured by this miſunderſtanding, Jonathan eſtabliſhed a reſpectable power, which made his friendſhip be courted by the different parties. From a very ſmall commencement he roſe to this high degree of elevation. The Jews who had eſcaped the ſword of the Syrians, after the death of Judas, united around his brother. At firſt they were few in number, but having gained the deſert, they ſoon increaſed, and maintained themſelves by the plunder which they took from their neighbours, who were almoſt all renegado Jews, or pagans. Bacchides being informed of the ſucceſs of this troop, marched againſt them. Jonathan had the courage to wait for him, but his boldneſs was not attended with ſucceſs. He was defeated by Bacchides, and obliged to take ſhelter in the deſert. After this victory the Syrian general finding no farther obſtacles to his views, placed garriſons in the principal cities of Judea, and ruled without oppoſition. Alcimus alſo fortified himſelf in Jeruſalem, and ſhut up in the citadel the children of the principal Jews, attached to Jonathan, that they might ſerve as hoſtages. Not contented with this precaution he endeavoured, in concert

with Bacchides, to get Jonathan into his poſſeſſion; but he eſcaped the ſnares laid for him. The fury of his enemies increaſed the number of his partiſans. He attempted once more the fate of arms, and was conqueror. The Jewiſh general took advantage of the moment of victory, to propoſe peace to the Syrian. The terms were accepted, and the treaty was confirmed by a mutual oath. It appears that Jonathan, in conſequence of this treaty, was inveſted with a part of the royal authority. He governed Judea in the manner of the ancient judges; and beſtowed his whole care on reforming the religious worſhip and the adminiſtration of the ſtate.

The princes who were diſputing for the empire of Syria, knowing of how much importance it was for them to ſecure the friendſhip of Jonathan, in order that they might retain ſome authority in Judea, vied with each other in conferring upon him marks of honour and confidence. Demetrius reſtored to him the hoſtages confined in the citadel of Jeruſalem; and he wrote to him, at the ſame time, as to a friend and an ally. In his letter he gave him permiſſion to raiſe troops, and to fabricate arms. Alexander Balas, his competitor, went ſtill farther; as he conferred on him the dignity of high-prieſt, and accompanied this favour with a gold crown, a purple robe, and other valuable preſents. Jonathan, without refuſing to accept Alexander's mark of beneficence, wiſhed, how-

ever, to hold the prieſthood by the choice of the people, and got himſelf elected by them to that dignity. Demetrius made another attempt to gain the friendſhip of Jonathan; but the high-prieſt remained faithful to Alexander. The latter teſtified his gratitude by repoſing in him full confidence, and by giving him a complete victory over thoſe who envied his power, and brought complaints againſt him, to which the king of Syria refuſed to liſten. Jonathan, in the war between Demetrius and Alexander, declared himſelf againſt Apollonius, who had been appointed governor of Paleſtine by Demetrius, and routed his army. Alexander, in return for this ſervice, ſent him a gold buckle or claſp, ſuch as that uſually worn by the princes of the royal family. To this valuable preſent he added others more ſolid, ſuch as a diſtrict of land, and exemption from the tribute which had been before impoſed on the Jews. Alexander's ſon made Simon, Jonathan's brother, commander in chief of all the forces of Judea.

Under the government of the two brothers it became, as we may ſay, a preponderating power. Rome renewed her alliance with it; and a like alliance was ſolicited by Sparta. The kings of Egypt did not think they purchaſed it too dear by entruſting to the Jews the care of their moſt important fortreſſes, and conferring on them various honourable offices, both at court and in the provinces. So many relations with that kingdom,

could not leave the Jewiſh general indifferent in regard to the events which took place in it. He contributed a great deal towards the peace between Ptolemy Tryphon and his brother; but that prince, whoſe infamous character is well known, fearing he ſhould find in this brave general an obſtacle to the new acts of perfidy which he was meditating, enticed him to Ptolemais, where he cauſed him to be loaded with irons. He afterwards ſent word to Simon, that he kept his brother priſoner only becauſe he owed him a hundred talents; and if he would ſend him that ſum, and Jonathan's two ſons as hoſtages, he would ſet the father at liberty. The credulous Simon diſpatched the money and the hoſtages; but the treacherous monarch had no ſooner received the money, than he put to death the father and the children.

Jonathan had governed Judea with great wiſdom; and was ſucceeded by his brother, now pretty far advanced in life. By a decree of the ſanhedrim, he was declared prince and high-prieſt of the Jews. The ſame decree rendered theſe dignities hereditary in his family. He indeed held a diſtinguiſhed rank among the princes of his time, by the ſervices which he rendered to the Jewiſh nation. He delivered it from the foreign garriſons, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion of ſome important places; and Jeruſalem was indebted to him for new ſplendour. A Syrian nobleman, who had been ſent to him on an embaſſy, ad- Simon, 2856.

mired the elegance of his houſe, the furniture of which conſiſted almoſt entirely of gold and ſilver. His troops, which were numerous and well diſciplined, were commanded by his three ſons, the glory and ornament of his old age. He had the ſatisfaction, ſo gratifying to a father, of ſeeing them crowned with the laurels of victory; but, while he enjoyed a happineſs ſo worthy of envy, a monſter in his own family proved the means of his deſtruction. He had married one of his daughters to a man named Ptolemy, who not contented with the government of Jericho and the neighbouring diſtrict, conferred on him by his father-in-law, where he had amaſſed great riches, conceived a plan of rendering himſelf maſter of all Judea. Under the pretence of an entertainment, he enticed Simon and his two ſons into a fortreſs, where he cauſed them to be aſſaſſinated. John, ſurnamed Hyrcan, the third ſon, who had been invited alſo to this fatal entertainment, was not able to attend. Ptolemy, therefore, ſent meſſengers to arreſt him; but being forewarned in time, he eſcaped. The murderer did not derive from his crime that advantage which he expected. He haſtened to Jeruſalem, in order that he might get poſſeſſion of it; but while he was endeavouring to enter at one gate, Hyrcan appeared at the other, and being admitted in preference, was proclaimed prince and ſovereign pontiff, in the ſame manner as his father.

Hyrcan, 2864. Ptolemy, diſappointed in his hopes, called in the

assistance of Antiochus, who laid siege to Jerusalem, and reduced it to a dreadful state by famine. This extremity obliged Hyrcan to accept the conditions which the conqueror was pleased to offer; and which were, the payment of a large sum of money, and the destruction of the fortifications of the city. The parricide Ptolemy had no influence in regard to the treaty, as he had betaken himself to flight. We do not know in what manner he was punished for his crime. Hyrcan, either through force or gratitude, accompanied Antiochus on an expedition which he undertook against the Parthians. The troubles that followed, and in which Antiochus was killed, afforded the high-priest of the Jews an opportunity to shake off for ever the yoke of the Syrian monarchs. He even made an incursion into that country; and enlarged his dominions, not only in that quarter, but also towards Arabia and Phœnicia. Hyrcan then turned his arms against the Samaritans, who were troublesome neighbours, and having totally ruined Samaria, destroyed the temple which its inhabitants had built on Mount Garizzim. His reign was no less remarkable by his wisdom than his exploits. Under his government religion was re-established in its full purity; he gave an example of assiduity, in regard to the sacred ceremonies; and the temple, which he enriched, acquired by his care new splendour. He strengthened it also by fortifications, and rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem. He

carefully cultivated the alliance of the Romans; and left his ſtates in a flouriſhing condition to his ſon Ariſtobulus.

Ariſtobulus, 2891. This prince did what his anceſtors never ventured to do:—he aſſumed the title of king; but he bore the crown only for a year, and ſtained it with the blood of his mother, and one of his ſons. If any excuſe could be allowed for theſe crimes, it might be ſaid that he committed them at the inſtigation of his wife. We might add, to diminiſh the indignation which they excite, that ſorrow for his paſt conduct deſtroyed his health, and threw him into violent convulſions, which ended in death. He left three brothers, one of whom, named Alexander, aſcended the throne. The youngeſt brother of this prince having given him ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion, he put him to death; but the youngeſt, named Antigonus, whoſe whole ambition was confined to a quiet and inoffenſive life, was treated with friendſhip.

Alexander. Phariſees. Sadducees. 2894. When a religion which has been long eſtabliſhed in a nation begins to experience any ſhock, there neceſſarily ariſes a diverſity of opinions reſpecting the greater or leſs relaxation which ought be admitted, either in regard to its precepts or external practices. The perſecutions of the kings of Syria had, on the one hand, made zealots, and, on the other, induced ſeveral perſons to examine how far it might be lawful for the Jews to carry their deference for the ordinances and prohibitions of the

Syrian monarchs, without offending in an eſſential manner againſt the Jewiſh religion. Some declared that it was allowable on no pretence whatever to admit of the leaſt relaxation in regard to the rigor, even of the liturgic commands; and when it was repreſented that this ſeverity was not preſcribed in the text of Moſes, they oppoſed oral traditions, to which they gave the ſame authority as to the ſacred books. Others ſaid that it was not offending againſt religion, to free themſelves, by ſome relaxation, from oppreſſion and ruin: and rejecting traditions, as arbitrary and dangerous, they adhered to the text, the brevity of which authorized them to give a favourable interpretation of it. The former were people of auſtere manners, the effect of their diſpoſition, which made them ready to ſacrifice their property, their peace, and their lives, rather than ſuffer the leaſt deviation even from the letter of the law. By this ſeverity they obtained the eſteem and veneration of the people. The opinion of the latter was calculated to pleaſe the great, who, accuſtomed to enjoyments, readily adopted the means which might perpetuate them by ſilencing their ſcruples. The latter were called ſadducees, and the former phariſees. We do not exactly know whence theſe names have been derived; but it is not improbable that they were thoſe of ſome doctors.

The phariſees are reproached with pride, and intolerance in regard to thoſe who did not enter-

tain the ſame opinion as themſelves, and above all, in regard to the ſadducees. There was this difference in the doctrine of theſe two ſects, that the phariſees believed in the immortality of the ſoul, the reſurrection, and future rewards. The ſadducees ſeemed more than indifferent reſpecting theſe articles of faith, and eſpecially in practice. They thought of nothing but the good things of this life; and they may be conſidered as the epicureans of judaiſm. Beſides this difference of principles, a too common ſource of animoſity, we may aſcribe that of the phariſees towards the ſadducees to the envy excited by the enjoyment of others in the minds of thoſe who ſubmit to mortification: an impetuous paſſion, the impulſe of which the rigoriſts ſometimes follow without being ſenſible of it. They imagine themſelves filled with zeal, and are filled only with jealouſy. Jonathan thought he could gain them over to his party, by flattering their pride; and he was ſo condeſcending as to conſult them reſpecting his conduct. "Tell me candidly," ſaid he to the principal chiefs whom he had aſſembled, "if you have any "thing to reproach me with in regard to my "manner of governing, becauſe I am reſolved to "obſerve with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs the laws of "God and your maxims." The whole aſſembly extolled his valour, his zeal, and his piety. One of them, however, named Eleazar, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, ſaid bluntly, "If you are

"desirous to merit the praise with which you "have been just now honoured, you ought im- "mediately to abdicate the high-priesthood, and "to content yourself with the civil authority." This audacity, which was not sufficiently disapproved by the rest, made Jonathan acquainted with the spirit of the whole sect. He avenged himself by openly favouring the sadducees: but a punishment more severe might, perhaps, have saved his son Alexander from that uneasiness and vexation occasioned to him by the pharisees.

It is not improbable that the desire which they had manifested to Jonathan of confining him to the civil authority, and of appointing a high-priest from their own sect, was revived when they beheld on the throne a prince whose power was not sufficiently established, to be formidable like that of his father. They privately endeavoured to ruin him in the minds of the people; and the contempt they inspired was openly manifested at the feast of tabernacles. On that occasion the people carried in their hands branches of the palm, citron, and other trees; and, at the moment when the priest was about to offer up sacrifice, he found himself pelted on all sides with the fruit of these branches, and insulted by bitter invectives and the most opprobrious language. This affront did not remain unavenged. The high-priest being filled with indignation, gave orders to his soldiers to fall upon the guilty, six thousand of whom, it is

ſaid, were maſſacred: the remainder eſcaped. After that time Alexander had always in his pay ſix thouſand foreigners. This firſt rebellion degenerated into a civil war, which continued ſix years, and coſt the lives of more than ſixty thouſand rebels, without reckoning the loſs which the king ſuſtained, on his part, and the calamities into which it involved Judea. Alexander, though conqueror, did every thing in his power to calm the minds of the people; but as he had to do with ignorant men, excited by a haughty and vindictive ſect, the advances he made only ſerved to give them more boldneſs. He humbled himſelf ſo far as to ſay that he would grant whatever they thought proper, provided they would be ſatisfied. "Let "him cut his own throat," ſaid they, "this is "the leaſt he can do, after having ſubjected the "nation to ſo many evils."

After this, the king gave over all thoughts of accommodation; and the rebels being hard preſſed, called in Demetrius to their aſſiſtance. Alexander was defeated; but his loſs was either inconſiderable, or ſpeedily repaired, ſince he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to come to a ſecond engagement, the iſſue of which was in his favour. The rebels, whom Demetrius had previouſly quitted, ſuſtained a prodigious loſs. The principal chiefs retired from the field of battle to the fortreſs of Bethome, where they were beſieged by the king; who, after taking the place, gave free vent to his

vengeance. Eight hundred were ſent to Jeruſalem, and crucified in one ſpot on the ſame day. This puniſhment not being ſufficient to gratify his vengeance, he ordered the wives and children of the expiring wretches to be butchered before their eyes.

This dreadful execution enſured tranquillity to him during the reſt of his reign; but did not change the diſpoſition of the people. The precautions which he thought himſelf obliged to take when he died, are a proof of it. "When I am "dead," ſaid he to Alexandra, his wife, "ſend "for the phariſees, ſhew them my body, and tell "them that you will give it up to them that they "may deprive it of ſepulchral honour, in order "to avenge the evils which I have done to them. "Aſſure them that you are reſolved to follow "their counſels in the government of the king-"dom; and you may reſt ſatisfied that, inſtead of "diſhonouring my memory, they will be eager to "celebrate my funeral, and that you will reign "with full authority." Alexander was well acquainted with this haughty ſect. What he had predicted, took place. The phariſees, flattered by the deference of the ſpouſe, buried the huſband with great magnificence; and readily inſcribed on the tomb of their enemy, the titles of hero and father of his people.

The phariſees praiſed, above all, the great wiſ- Alexandra. 2922.
dom which the dying prince had ſhewn, by leav-

ing the government in the hands of the queen. They flattered themſelves with the hopes of deriving great advantage from this choice. Alexandra had two ſons, the eldeſt of whom, named Hyrcan, was thirty-three years of age; but being incapable of reigning, ſhe made him high-prieſt. The ſecond, named Ariſtobulus, a man of a bold and enterprizing character, ſhe kept with her; but gave him no ſhare of the ſovereign authority. In this manner the ſceptre was ſeparated from the tiara. As the phariſees well knew the queen's weakneſs, they demanded from her three very important things: to revoke the edicts iſſued, during the two laſt reigns, againſt their doctrine; to grant a general amneſty to their partiſans, whatever crimes they might have committed; and to recal the exiles and fugitives, and reſtore to them their property. When theſe points were obtained, the faction demanded the puniſhment of thoſe who adviſed Alexander to put to death the eight hundred who had been crucified. Under this pretence they eſtabliſhed a moſt formidable inquiſition. Every day ſome of thoſe who had been moſt faithful to their king, and who were ſtigmatized by their enemies with the appellation of ſadducees, were ſeen dragged along to puniſhment. The queen beheld theſe ſcenes with ſilent affliction. This perſecution continued for ſeveral years; but at laſt ſome chiefs of the oppreſſed party, having Ariſtobulus at their head, came to beg Alexandra

to put an end to theſe oppreſſive acts; or, if ſhe did not think herſelf ſufficiently powerful to repreſs the fury of the phariſees, to permit them to quit the kingdom.

This propoſal alarmed the queen; as ſhe was afraid that, by ſuffering the ſadducees to depart, ſhe would be left in the power of her enemies, without any defenſe. Recourſe was, therefore, had to negotiation; and Alexandra granted to the perſecuted certain places, which they were allowed to fortify for their own defenſe. In regard to her ſon Ariſtobulus, ſhe employed him in a foreign war; but he ſoon quitted it, as a diſeaſe with which his mother was attacked made him purſue new meaſures. Certain ſymptoms gave reaſon to think that this malady would carry her to the grave; and, in that caſe, it would not have been prudent for Ariſtobulus to remain at court, in the midſt of his enemies. He therefore retired privately, accompanied by only one perſon, and repaired to the fortreſs of Agaba, of which Gabeſtus, an old friend of his father, was governor. The governor readily entered into the views of the prince, and his example was followed by the governors of the principal ſtrong places. The people, even, who had been treated with haughtineſs and ſeverity by the phariſaic faction when it believed that it had no farther need of them, declared on all ſides for Ariſtobulus.

In the mean time the malady of Alexandra be-

came worſe; and the phariſees being alarmed, took advantage of her condition to get Hyrcan, the high-prieſt, declared king. This was the laſt act of a weak reign, that gave ſtrength to thoſe factions which deprived the Aſmonean family of the ſceptre. Both parties ſet on foot armies. The phariſees ſeized the wife and children of Ariſtobulus, whom they kept as hoſtages. A battle decided the quarrel, and the party of Hyrcan was beat. Ariſtobulus recovered his wife and his children; and Hyrcan purchaſed peace at the expenſe of the dignities of king and high-prieſt, which he reſigned in favour of his brother.

Hyrcan. Ariſtobulus. 2934.

In Idumæa there was a Jewiſh proſelyte, named Antipater, who by his ability had acquired the eſteem of the deceaſed king and his wife, and had obtained the government of his own country. This man, hoping that Hyrcan would be their ſucceſſor, had openly declared for that prince. In order that he might ſecure himſelf from the reſentment of Ariſtobulus, after the abdication of Hyrcan, he drew cloſer the bonds which united him to the phariſees, and inſpired them with the utmoſt dread of the vengeance meditated by Ariſtobulus, who only waited, he ſaid, for a favourable opportunity to call it forth, and in whom they ought to place no confidence. After mature deliberation, the party concluded that they could hope for no ſafety but by replacing Hyrcan on the throne. The great difficulty was to obtain the conſent of this indolent prince, who would not

believe that his brother had any deſign againſt his life. But Antipater never ceaſed to inſpire him with alarm. He was every moment telling him that his life was in danger; and that he ought either to reſolve to reign or to die. Yielding to force, rather than perſuaſion, the weak prince at laſt ſuffered Aretas, king of Arabia, to be called in to his aſſiſtance. Antipater, at firſt, had demanded from the Arabian only an aſylum for his prince, whoſe life he ſaid was in danger; but when he conducted him to the court of Aretas, the cunning Idumæan made the Arab ſenſible that, as the favour which he granted to Hyrcan would infallibly embroil him with Ariſtobulus, the only courſe he could purſue to avoid the miſeries of a long war, was to exert his utmoſt efforts to place his client on the throne. This advice was adopted, and Aretas marched into Judea. Ariſtobulus was ſurprized, and, after an unſucceſsful battle, abandoned the field to the conqueror, and retired into Jeruſalem.

The Romans in theſe countries had lieutenants, who, under the pretence of protection, enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the people. In conſequence of the ancient alliance, Ariſtobulus begged Pompey to deliver him from Aretas. His requeſt, ſeconded by a large ſum of money, was granted. The Arab king received orders to evacuate Judea, and obeyed. The queſtion then was, to decide which of the two brothers had a right to

the crown of Judea. They had ſent two ambaſſadors to the Roman general; but he wiſhed to ſee them in perſon before his tribunal. They both appeared at Damaſcus, and the cauſe was argued with great ſolemnity. It was remarked that Ariſtobulus had brought with him a great number of young perſons elegantly dreſſed, as if he had come to a ſpectacle or a public entertainment. By this company ſome opinion may be formed of his council. Hyrcan had Antipater, whoſe talents would have brought him off in triumph, had not Pompey found it neceſſary to ſecure the favour of Ariſtobulus for ſome time longer; but the latter, offended at not having obtained a deciſion, quitted Damaſcus with a reſolution of defending his right by the force of arms. The Roman general followed him to Judea, where they had ſeveral conferences, during which Pompey extended his power, and at length forced the prince to give orders to the governors to deliver up the fortreſſes to the Romans. It appears that he did this with reluctance, in order to eſcape, perhaps, from the hands to which he had imprudently entruſted himſelf, as he retired with precipitation into Jeruſalem. But when he ſaw Pompey near the walls, being affected by the evils with which the holy city and its inhabitants were about to be oppreſſed, the unfortunate Ariſtobulus went and ſubmitted himſelf at diſcretion to the Romans, begging them to ſpare the Jews. He promiſed to

cauſe the gates of the city to be opened, and to give a large ſum of money to ſave it from being plundered; but when Pompey appeared, having either changed his mind, or promiſed more than he was able to perform, the Romans found the gates ſhut. Pompey, therefore, gave orders that he ſhould be loaded with irons, and attacked the city.

There were two parties in it, one headed by Ariſtobulus, and the other by Hyrcan. The former wiſhed to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, but the latter prevailed; and having admitted the Romans, even aſſiſted them in the works they were obliged to conſtruct to attack the temple. This edifice, which was a kind of fortreſs, was taken by aſſault. On this occaſion more than twelve thouſand Jews periſhed by the ſword of the Romans, and that of their own countrymen, in whom the ſpirit of faction had extinguiſhed every ſentiment of pity. During the carnage the prieſts continued with great tranquillity to diſcharge the functions of their miniſtry, and ſuffered themſelves to be butchered at the foot of the altar, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. It is hardly poſſible to conceive the extent of the riches which fell a prey to the conqueror; they conſiſted of a large ſum of money, gold veſſels of aſtoniſhing weight, and even a beam of maſſy gold. This booty ſerved to ornament Pompey's triumph at Rome, as well as Ariſtobulus,

with his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters. The conqueror put Hyrcan in poſſeſſion of his former dignity of high-prieſt, and gave him the title of prince tributary to the republic; but he deprived him of that of king, and Judea was confined within its ancient boundaries.

Hyrcan, that phantom of a king, loſt only a title, for the whole authority had been in the hands of Antipater. It is time to obſerve, that this Idumæan was the father of Herod. The fortune of the ſon may already ſerve to account for the conduct of the father, without the neceſſity of relating the motives. Antipater always fixed his attention on Hyrcan. He ſhewed himſelf the organ and the defender of a weak prince, while the ambitious Idumæan laboured only for his own intereſt. He watched for every favourable opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the Romans. Scaurus, with his army in Arabia, being threatened by a famine, received from him very ſeaſonably an abundant ſupply of proviſions. He likewiſe engaged Aretas to give a large ſum to the Roman general, to prevent his country from being pillaged; and in this manner he conferred a favour upon both. At the ſame time he obliged his idol Hyrcan, by procuring for him from the Athenians a golden crown, and a ſtatue in the temple of the graces.

Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, having eſ-

caped from prison at Rome, came to renew the war in Judea; but being surrounded with his small army by the Romans and Antipater, he was on the point of being totally ruined, when his mother prevailed on them to grant him peace, of which Antipater was the negotiator. After the accommodation, Gabinius the Roman general divided Judea into five districts, each governed by its own magistrates. This division, in case of Hyrcan's death, would have rendered it easier for Antipater to get possession of the kingdom, by seizing the different parts, than if it had remained entire. Soon after Aristobulus escaped from Rome, and following the example of his son repaired to Judea, where he was still less fortunate. The Romans took by assault the place to which he had retired after a defeat, and sent him back to Rome covered with wounds. Alexander again made his appearance, and was defeated by Cassius and Antipater. A ray of hope, however, was still left to the unfortunate Aristobulus. Cæsar having become master of Rome, resolved to send him to Judea to oppose Antipater, the partisan of Pompey, for Hyrcan was scarcely any longer mentioned; but Aristobulus was poisoned, and Pompey's friends were supposed to be the authors of this crime. The unfortunate end of Alexander, who was beheaded at Antioch about the same time by the express order of Pompey, justified the suspicions entertained in regard to the authors of

the death of the father. We lament Pompey when we think of his aſſaſſination by Ptolemy in Egypt; but our compaſſion is turned into indignation, when we reflect on the odious crimes which he committed in order to gratify his ambition.

Immediately after the death of Ariſtobulus, Antipater carried aſſiſtance to Cæſar in Egypt, and obtained from him the ſame eſteem and affection as he had enjoyed from his rival. New ſervices, and diſtinguiſhed proofs of valour, exhibited opportunely in a battle, which facilitated the conqueſt of Egypt to Cæſar, procured to Antipater the title of procurator of Judea, and of a Roman citizen. On his account Cæſar reſtored to the Jews all their privileges; and he ordered that the motives for this act of kindneſs ſhould be engraven on a plate of braſs: a circumſtance exceedingly honourable to Antipater, whoſe name was not forgotten.

After theſe favours it may be readily judged in what manner Antigonus, the laſt of the children of Ariſtobulus, was received when he went to Syria to demand juſtice for the death of his father. In vain did he repreſent to Cæſar, that the unfortunate prince had been a victim to his attachment to him in oppoſition to Pompey; in vain did he ſolicit for ſome part of the inheritance of his father: the ſervices of Ariſtobulus had conſiſted only in good intentions; thoſe of Hyrcan, and of the procurator of Judea, were recent and real.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus were treated as ſeditious men, who had always been enemies to the Romans. It was decided that the former had loſt his head by a juſt ſentence; and, to ſhew Antigonus that he was in the wrong to attack Antipater, Cæſar renewed in favour of the latter all the privileges granted to the Jews. The ſenate confirmed them, and gave him permiſſion alſo to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem.

Proud of this ſucceſs, Antipater returned in triumph to Jeruſalem with Hyrcan, to whom he allowed the honours while he enjoyed the power. On this occaſion the diviſion of Judea into diſtricts was of ſervice to him. He gave the government of Jeruſalem to Phaſael, his eldeſt ſon; made Herod, the ſecond, governor of Galilee; and committed the reſt into the hands of perſons in whom he could confide. He then made a tour through Judea with Hyrcan, as if he only acted under his command. He freed the country from the banditti by which it was infeſted, and every-where reſtored peace and good order. His ſon Herod did the ſame in his government, but with leſs caution, and leſs reſpect for eſtabliſhed forms, than his father. He cauſed Hezekiah, the chief of an undiſciplined band of marauders, to be ſeized and put to death, as well as his accomplices, without any trial.

This act of deſpotic authority furniſhed thoſe who were enemies to Antipater, and his family,

with a pretence for attacking Herod. He was ſummoned before the ſanhedrim, in which Hyrcan ſat as preſident. The governor of Galilee appeared there, not as an individual who was going to give an account of his conduct, but dreſſed in purple, and attended by a body of young men well armed. This eſcort ſtruck the whole court with awe, ſo that none of the accuſers would at firſt venture to ſpeak. Sameas, however, a man reſpectable by his authority, roſe and impeached Herod, not only of the crime for which he was brought before the ſanhedrim, but even arraigned his unjuſtifiable boldneſs in appearing in ſuch a manner, as if he meant to intimidate his judges; and concluded with theſe words: "What aſto-"niſhes me is, that the high-prieſt and the ſan-"hedrim ſhould ſuffer it. God is no leſs juſt "than powerful; and this ſame Herod whom "you wiſh to abſolve in order to pleaſe Hyrcan, "will one day puniſh you himſelf." This propheſy was accompliſhed. When Herod aſcended the throne he put to death the high-prieſt, and all the judges except Sameas, whom he always after treated with honour. On the preſent occaſion, Herod retired with great confidence, as the judges did not dare to come to a determination. He deſigned in the mean time to make the ſanhedrim repent of having even ſummoned him before it. He raiſed an army for the purpoſe of being revenged on the tribunal, as well as on Hyrcan

himſelf; but Antipater diverted him from his intention.

It appears, that about this time a party was formed in Hyrcan's court againſt Antipater and his family, at the head of which was one Malichus, who ſeems to have gained the confidence of the weak high-prieſt. Antipater either was not ſenſible of it, or did not employ ſufficient precaution. He was poiſoned at Hyrcan's table; but the crime of Malichus did not long remain unpuniſhed. Herod cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated at Hyrcan's ſide. This prince had been rather governed by the Idumæan family than attached to them. His affection for the Aſmoneans was renewed whenever any of that family appeared to aſſert their rights. He gave a deciſive proof of this attachment to Antigonus his nephew, the ſon of his deceaſed brother Ariſtobulus. This prince went to Antioch, where Anthony then reſided, to lay before him ſome complaints againſt the Idumæans; but in particular againſt Phaſael, and Herod, the uſurper of the ſovereign power. Hyrcan was preſent on this intereſting occaſion; and the two brothers had zealous defenders. The triumvir being embarraſſed, aſked Hyrcan himſelf, which of the two parties was fitteſt for governing the country. Hyrcan was ſo honeſt, or ſo weak, as to give the preference to the two brothers. Anthony then conferred upon them the dignity of tetrarchs, which apparently gave them ſovereign authority,

and condemned the accuſers to death. They were, however, ſaved by the interceſſion of Herod. In general this prince, as long as he did not wear the crown, through a dread perhaps of being expoſed to the danger of repriſals, was of a mild and humane diſpoſition.

Antigonus, thus defeated in his views, appealed to arms, and engaged Pacorus king of the Parthians, by promiſing him a hundred talents, and five hundred women, to aſſiſt him to conquer Judea, and to depoſe Hyrcan. The kingdom was accordingly invaded. Phaſael and Herod, who had ſtill Hyrcan in their poſſeſſion, entrenched themſelves in Jeruſalem, where various engagements took place. A kind of treaty put Phaſael and Hyrcan into the hands of Antigonus, who cauſed his uncle's ears to be cut off, that by this mutilation he might render him incapable of exerciſing the functions of high-prieſt. Phaſael, apprehending that he might be put to the torture, knocked out his brains againſt a ſtone. Herod, who had not bound himſelf by the treaty, quitted Jeruſalem with his mother, his ſiſter Salome, Mariamne his betrothed wife, Pheroras his brother, and Alexandra the mother of Mariamne, and the aunt of Antigonus. Theſe fugitives were often attacked by the Parthians; but Herod defended them like a lion, and placed them under the care of Joſeph, one of his brothers, with a choſen garriſon, in Maſſada, a fortreſs of Idumæa.

He then went to ſeek for aſſiſtance wherever he thought he could find it. He began by Arabia; but Aretas, the friend and protector of his father, was no longer on the throne. His ſucceſſor Malchus refuſed Herod the money which he requeſted. Being diſappointed in this quarter he repaired to Egypt, where he was treated with much attention and reſpect by Cleopatra, then on the throne; but he obtained neither troops nor money. While he remained in Egypt, Malchus, aſhamed of having ſent him away with a refuſal, begged him to return to Arabia, and promiſed him aſſiſtance. The proud Herod rejected this tardy aid, and ſet out for Rome, where he experienced more ſucceſs, being taken under the protection of Anthony. The ambition of the Idumæan prince was, however, confined to the placing Ariſtobulus, the brother of his beloved Mariamne, on the throne; and with being under him at the head of affairs, as his father had been under Hyrcan. It was love, no doubt, that inſpired him with this moderation, which was not approved by Anthony, who afterwards, on account of the ſame paſſion, made ſacrifices of a different kind. "You ſhall reign," ſaid he. And this reſolution being formed, Antigonus was declared by the ſenate an enemy of the Romans, and Herod king of the Jews, with a promiſe of powerful aſſiſtance. The latter returned to Judea, releaſed his family, who were reduced in

Maſſada to the utmoſt extremity, and in his turn laid ſiege to Antigonus in Jeruſalem.

The ſucceſs of the ſiege was retarded by various obſtacles. The troops demanded winter quarters ſooner than they ought, and murmured on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions. The Roman and other chiefs aſked money, and even when they had received it demanded more. Herod, to extricate himſelf from this embarraſſment, raiſed the ſiege, but with an intention of reſuming it. He employed this interval in purſuing the banditti of Galilee, who had taken ſhelter in inacceſſible caverns. Herod cauſed boxes to be conſtructed, and ſuſpended by iron chains, in which the ſoldiers deſcended to the mouths of the caverns, and deſtroyed thoſe who reſided in them, either by ſmoke or by their arms. The inhabitants, however, of theſe retreats were not all robbers; ſome of them were zealous Jews, who preferred death to the diſgrace of bending under the yoke of an Idumæan, a ſimple proſelyte, or, as they called him, a half Jew. One of theſe obſtinate and ferocious men, ſeeing no means of eſcape, and being haraſſed by the entreaties of his wife and children, ſeven in number, who wiſhed to ſubmit, placed himſelf at the entrance of the cavern, killed his wife and children as they attempted to go out, threw their bodies to the bottom of the mountain, and then precipitated himſelf after them. Before he com-

mitted this horrid deed he imprecated the vengeance of Heaven on Herod, who not being able to reach him, begged at a diſtance that he would ſpare himſelf and his family.

After theſe expeditions he returned to the ſiege of Jeruſalem. The lower city made very little reſiſtance; but the upper, to which Antigonus had retired, held out five months, though expoſed to the horrors of famine. Being taken by aſſault, a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the inhabitants. Herod preſerved the temple from pillage, by giving the ſoldiers a certain ſum of money from his own property; and he ſaved from the ferocity of the conquerors as many victims as he could. Antigonus ſurrendered, and entreated mercy; but the political Herod did not ſuffer him to live. He had ſtill a ſufficiency of money to obtain the death of his priſoner from Anthony, to whom he was conducted.

Herod poſſeſſed eminent qualities; and it cannot be denied, that he united the bravery of a ſoldier to the talents of a general. He was eminently well ſkilled in the ſcience of government; poſſeſſed great political addreſs, with a wonderful taſte for magnificence; firmneſs under misfortunes, and fertility of reſource; with the talent of making himſelf be obeyed, and of obtaining the eſteem and affection of thoſe for whom he had occaſion. But we obſerve alſo in his character a cruelty which effaces all his other virtues; a reſt- Herod, 2962.

leſs, ſuſpicious, gloomy diſpoſition; no ſcruple in regard to the means he employed to accompliſh his deſigns, and no moderation in his enjoyments. No man ever abandoned himſelf more to his paſſions, or was more puniſhed by their effects. It has been already remarked, that before he attained to the throne he diſplayed ſome humanity; but as ſoon as he was ſeated on it, his whole attention was engaged with two objects:—to fill his coffers, exhauſted by the conſiderable ſums which he had been obliged to give to the Romans, and to deſtroy the remains of the faction of Antigonus. Theſe two deſigns inſpired him with the moſt mercileſs rapacity. He cauſed to be conveyed to his treaſury the valuable furniture of all the opulent families. Beſides other acts of the like kind, he confiſcated the property of forty-five of the partiſans of Antigonus, whom he put to death; and to prevent any of the plunder from eſcaping his rapacious hands, he poſted guards at the gates to examine the coffins, leſt they might be employed to carry away part of the ſpoils.

Love, however, excited ſome ſparks in this ferocious mind, but they were ſoon loſt in the diſmal fire of jealouſy: a jealouſy of affection, and jealouſy of authority, which occaſioned the ruin of Herod and of all thoſe by whom he was ſurrounded. He had obtained the hand of the beautiful Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra, the ſiſter of Hyrcan. Mariamne had a brother named Ariſtobulus, in the

flower of his age, and equally handſome as herſelf. Old Hyrcan, their grand-father, having been carried away by the Parthians when they took Jeruſalem for Antigonus, reſided among theſe people in peace and retirement. In his room Herod had raiſed to the dignity of high-prieſt a perſon then abſent, named Ananel, who was not even of the pontifical race. Alexandra was much hurt by the motive of this preference, which was nothing elſe than to fill up the place that he might have a pretence for not giving it to Ariſtobulus, who ought to have ſucceeded his grand-father. The mother of the young prince, after applying in vain to her ſon-in-law, addreſſed herſelf to Cleopatra, and obtained from Anthony, through her means, an order to Herod to inſtal his brother-in-law. Herod complied, but with reluctance. At the feaſt of tabernacles the new high-prieſt, who was only ſeventeen years of age, appeared at the altar clothed in the pontifical robes, and performed the duties of the holy miniſtry with ſo much grace and majeſty, that the ſpectators could not help teſtifying their joy by loud burſts of applauſe. Theſe acclamations were his ſentence of death. A few days after ſome of Herod's emiſſaries invited young Ariſtobulus to bathe in a neighbouring fiſh-pond; and having made him dive as if for amuſement, kept him ſo long under the water that he was drowned. This crime was connected with all thoſe which Herod committed in his fa-

mily, and of which his ſiſter Salome, the moſt infernal character that perhaps ever exiſted, was the cauſe and the inſtrument.

An account of this odious crime having been tranſmitted to Cleopatra by the mother of the young prince, who demanded vengeance, Herod was ſummoned to appear before Anthony at Laodicea. Though he carried with him from his treaſury weighty arguments to get himſelf declared innocent, when he ſet out he deſired his uncle Joſeph, under whoſe care he left Mariamne, to put her to death in caſe he did not return, leſt ſhe ſhould fall into the hands of Anthony, whom he ſuſpected to have become enamoured of her by only ſeeing her portrait. In a moment of confidence Joſeph had the indiſcretion to communicate to Mariamne this ſtrange mark of love; and Mariamne was ſo imprudent as to reproach her huſband with it when he returned. Such confidence, according to the conjectures of a jealous huſband, could be the reſult of nothing but the moſt intimate familiarity. Salome being incenſed againſt Mariamne, who deſpiſed her, endeavoured by raiſing falſe reports to give probability to the ſuſpicions of her brother, who, without farther enquiry, cauſed his uncle Joſeph to be put to death, and confined Alexandra for having been the occaſion of this fatal journey.

2969. The ſolicitude of love was afterwards baniſhed by political cares. Anthony being dead, Octavi-

anus avenged himſelf in a cruel manner on his partiſans. Herod, who had every reaſon to be afraid, repaired to Rome to plead his own cauſe; and before his departure entruſted his ſiſter Salome to his brother Pheroras. In regard to his ſpouſe Mariamne, he confined her along with his mother Alexandra, in the fortreſs of Maſſada, under the care of Joſeph his treaſurer, and of Sohemus his confidant, with the ſame ſanguinary orders as thoſe which he before gave, on a ſimilar occaſion. He freed himſelf alſo from another cauſe of uneaſineſs. Old Hyrcan, notwithſtanding the comforts which he enjoyed at Babylon, under the dominion of the Parthians, anxiouſly longed to reviſit his native country. When he learned that Herod was on the throne he returned, prepoſſeſſed with a belief that the ſervices which he had formerly rendered to his family would procure him a good reception. Herod himſelf even employed flattery to entice him to Judea; but when he arrived he treated him with indifference. It would have been fortunate if he had ſtill retained the ſame ſentiments. But the ſuſpicious tyrant, when ready to depart, began to reflect that Alexandra might employ the former credit of her father to excite ſome diſturbance; and the unfortunate Hyrcan, always a ſlave to others even in his grandeur, was ſacrificed at the age of eighty, to the dread, not of the miſchief which he might have done himſelf,

but of that which might have been done in his name.

When this cruel precaution was taken, Herod embarked for Rome. It was on ſuch occaſions that he diſplayed the energy of his character. He accoſted Auguſtus, not as a ſuppliant, but with confidence and intrepidity. "I have been the "friend of Anthony," ſaid he, "and it was not "for want of my attachment, that he did not "make a glorious reſiſtance to your arms. I ad- "viſed him to abandon Cleopatra, and with the "reſources of her kingdom to try the fate of war "once more againſt you. In that caſe I ſhould "have given him every aſſiſtance in my power. "I conceived that this conduct was dictated to "me by honour, gratitude, and friendſhip; but "ſince Anthony neglected my counſels, he has "by theſe means given me a right to offer my "ſervices to you. If you deign to accept them, "you will find in me a friend, as much attached "to your intereſts as I formerly was to thoſe of "your rival." This harangue, accompanied with valuable preſents, gave great ſatisfaction to Auguſtus, who conceived a ſingular eſteem for the king of Judea, and was always rather his friend than his protector. Herod confirmed him in theſe ſentiments by the magnificent manner in which he twice received him, when going to and returning from Syria. Preſents at the court of Auguſtus,

proviſions to his troops, large ſums of money poured into his treaſury, amuſements, and parties of pleaſure, all were employed to gain the friendſhip of that great man.

At the ſame time, however, that the monarch was ſuperintending theſe entertainments, he was tormented with the utmoſt uneaſineſs on account of Mariamne. She had the dangerous curioſity to enquire, whether the ſame cruel orders had been renewed againſt her. The fatal ſecret eſcaped alſo from Sohemus, ſo that when the huſband returned, full of ardour, to the ſpouſe whom he adored, he met with a cool reception, which was followed by bitter reproaches: whether it was that Mariamne thought herſelf ſufficiently certain of her huſband's love, to check when ſhe pleaſed the tranſports of his vengeance, or that being tired of living with a man whom ſhe deteſted, ſhe was indifferent in regard to the conſequences, ſhe broke out into open complaints reſpecting the death of her young brother, that of her grandfather, and the attempts intended and commanded to be made againſt her own life. Theſe reproaches, which were too juſt, threw the monarch into deſpair. They ſhewed him that he could no longer depend on an affection which he would have purchaſed with his blood. Theſe reflexions filled him with the utmoſt diſtreſs. His mind was agitated in turns by plans of violence, repentance, deſpair, the hope of obtaining forgiveneſs, and the

moſt impetuous and turbulent emotions. Salome, a deſpiſed and implacable enemy, embraced the opportunity of one of theſe violent tranſports to be revenged of her ſiſter-in-law. The king's cup-bearer appeared before him, holding in one hand a poiſoned cup, and in the other the money which the queen, he ſaid, had juſt given him to make his ſpouſe ſwallow the draught. The plot was badly formed; but what may not a prejudiced man be induced to believe? It would appear that an eunuch, whom the princeſs honoured with ſome eſteem, was involved in the accuſation. Herod ordered that he ſhould be put to the torture: but the unfortunate wretch ſaid only, that he believed the order given to Sohemus to be the cauſe of the averſion which the queen ſhewed to her huſband. In this confeſſion the jealous huſband thought he could diſcover a reprehenſible intimacy between the eunuch and his wife, and he cauſed him to be immediately maſſacred. Mariamne was carried before judges bribed by Salome, who condemned her to death. Theſe infamous judges, however, begged that the execution might be ſuſpended; but the ſiſter-in-law cauſed a report to reach the ears of Herod, that the people were riſing in favour of the criminal. Under this pretence ſhe extorted from the monarch the fatal order. Mariamne proceeded to the ſcaffold with firmneſs and tranquillity. Her mother Alexandra threw herſelf in her way, and flattering herſelf

with the hopes of ſecuring the good-will of her ſon-in-law, ſhe had the meanneſs to inſult her unhappy daughter by the moſt cruel reproaches; but the queen did not deign to return an anſwer, and ſubmitted to the fatal blow with heroic fortitude.

Alexandra did not derive the expected advantage from the mean adulation which had induced her to poiſon the laſt moments of her daughter. On account of a ſlight offenſe Herod put her to death. This prince, haunted by the image of a woman whom he idolized, experienced the moſt poignant remorſe, which rendered his life wretched. He always beheld in idea his dear Mariamne, pronounced her name aloud in his moments of delirium, and ordered her to be brought to him, as he could not believe that he had put her to death. No amuſements were capable of ſoothing his deſpair; and it appears that even religion, which often calms the tumult of affliction, had no power over his troubled mind. He had ſometimes ſhewn marks of piety; but when he found himſelf abſolutely free from control, he no longer kept within bounds. This conduct excited the murmurs of the people. Either to appeaſe them, or to gratify his own taſte for magnificence, he reſolved to reſtore the temple to its ancient ſplendor. He employed conſiderable ſums for this purpoſe, and rendered it an edifice almoſt equal, if not ſuperior, to that of Solomon. He rebuilt alſo the walls of Jeruſalem, and fortified

ſeveral cities. In times of ſcarcity and misfortune, ſuch as thoſe of an earthquake and plague, which occaſioned great ravage in Judea, the royal treaſury was opened, and afforded great relief to the ſufferers. The king diffuſed joy among the people by feſtivals, games, ſpectacles, and other diverſions; all highly agreeable to a nation which before had been acquainted only with religious ſolemnities. He took care, above all things, to avoid war. Peace made his ſtates flouriſh, and rendered the kingdom happy; but the monarch, on his throne, experienced new afflictions, which might have induced him to envy the meaneſt of his ſubjects.

2984. Mariamne had left him two ſons, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, whom the father cauſed to be educated at Rome. When their education was finiſhed he went thither for them himſelf, and married Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and Ariſtobulus to Berenice, the daughter of his ſiſter Salome. Theſe princes, too faithful imitators of the open candour of their unfortunate mother, did not ſufficiently conceal the indignation excited in their minds by the remembrance of her melancholy fate. Salome often found herſelf involved in their murmurs; and if they did not openly accuſe their father, they ſhewed him by their coolneſs what ſentiments they entertained of that horrid cataſtrophe. Herod, inſtead of ſoothing by a mild

conduct their irritated minds, endeavoured to ſubdue them by fear. By a wife whom he married before Mariamne he had a ſon named Antipater, for whom he ſhewed great predilection, and whom he loaded with favours. The two brothers, incapable of containing their reſentment, gave vent to every thing which it dictated againſt the rival oppoſed to them; while he, on the other hand, artful and diſſembling, did not ſuffer the leaſt word to eſcape from him againſt them. As his views were directed to the throne, Salome wiſhed to remove thoſe of whoſe vengeance ſhe was afraid, and the moſt perfect harmony was ſoon eſtabliſhed between her and Antipater. They both gueſſed each other's deſigns, and found means to inſpire Herod in ſuch a manner with ſuſpicions that he dragged his ſons to Rome to accuſe them of high-treaſon. This calumnious imputation made the princes ſhed tears. Alexander pleaded his own cauſe and that of his brother with ſo much eloquence, that Auguſtus, convinced of their innocence, could not help teſtifying to the father that he had accuſed them on too ſlight grounds. This deciſion produced a reconciliation. But Herod was too ſuſpicious, his ſons too imprudent, and their enemies too artful, to ſuffer it long to continue.

The ſuſpicions inſpired by Salome and Antipater were revived; but inferior victims were preſented to the monarch's fury before his rage was

directed againſt his ſons. No perſon in his palace was ſafe, and no room was left for defenſe, as accuſation was inſtantly followed by death. An attempt was at laſt made againſt the princes themſelves. Alexander was accuſed of having prevailed on his ſteward and cup-bearer, his greateſt favourites, to poiſon the king. Being put to the rack they conſtantly denied the charge; but on their torture being increaſed they ſuffered ſome words to eſcape from them, which ſeemed to afford ſufficient grounds for arreſting the prince. This young man, in the utmoſt deſpair, ſent to the king four different confeſſions, containing an acknowledgment of much more than had been extorted by means of the rack. He involved in them the whole court, the miniſters, Pheroras, and, above all, Salome. He accuſed the laſt of having come to him when in bed, to induce him to ſupport the plot formed againſt the tyrant, from whom neither peace nor happineſs was to be expected.

This accuſation, the object of which was to increaſe the general confuſion, produced its effect. Herod, no longer knowing whom he could truſt, became the ſport of his own fury and ſuſpicions. Day and night he beheld in imagination his ſons armed with daggers, and ready to ſtrike the fatal blow. The tyrant himſelf was as much to be pitied as the victims of his cruelty. Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, being informed of

theſe diſorders, came to Jeruſalem, and by his mild behaviour, exhortations to the children, and intreaties to the father, ſucceeded in effecting a reconciliation. It was proved that the young princes had never made any attempt either againſt the life or the crown of their father. Pheroras had the effrontery to charge himſelf with the crime of the accuſation, which he aſcribed, no doubt, to an exceſs of attachment to his brother Herod. Herod heard him, believed in his ſincerity, and retained him with him.

The unfortunate princes had been ſo much injured that they could not help thinking that thoſe by whom they had been calumniated would endeavour to get rid of them. It was natural, therefore, that their reſidence in a court where their enemies had great influence ſhould be diſagreeable to them. They accordingly reſolved to leave it, and to retire to ſome neighbouring country, where they might live in tranquillity. This deſign being made public, inſpired the king with new alarm, which their enemies took care to ſtrengthen, by aſcribing it to plans of revolt. Herod, confirmed in his ſuſpicions, was no ſooner informed than he ordered his ſons to be arreſted, and aſſembled a court, to which he invited commiſſioners from Auguſtus. The king, in the preſence of five hundred perſons, pleaded himſelf againſt his unfortunate children with ſuch vehemence, as excited the indignation of the whole audience. A plurality

of voices, however, produced a ſentence of death. The accuſed were not ſuffered to ſpeak. One man only, named Tyro, had the boldneſs to repreſent to the king that by the death of his two ſons he would incur the indignation of the people who were attached to them, and would throw himſelf into the hands of Antipater, the only author of the conſpiracies formed againſt him; but Salome was ſo artful as to make Tyro be ſuſpected of the ſame crime as that with which he charged Antipater. Tyro being deſired to name the accomplices of the prince, was not able; on the contrary, he was himſelf accuſed of having bribed the king's barber to cut his throat. Tyro with his ſon and the barber were put to the rack, and expired amidſt torture. The two princes were conducted to Sebaſte, and ſtrangled.

Theſe executions ſtruck a terror even into thoſe who had been the cauſe of them, and every one fled from the habitation of ſo dangerous a tyrant. People were even afraid of encountering his looks. Pheroras, under the pretence of ſome diſcontent, which he had himſelf produced, retired to his hierarchy. Antipater got himſelf ſent to Rome to Auguſtus, that he might cultivate his friendſhip for Herod. When at this diſtance theſe two men formed a deſign, one to get rid of his brother, and the other of his father. Antipater ſent poiſon to Pheroras, but the latter, touched by ſome ſentiments of attachment to Herod, de-

ferred making uſe of it. He died a natural death; and the poiſon having been committed to the care of his wife, was diſcovered by Herod, who by theſe means learned the whole plot. Herod ſent for Antipater, who repaired to him without the leaſt ſuſpicion, and was immediately loaded with chains. Unfortunately for himſelf, he had made a formidable enemy of Salome, his aunt, by endeavouring to inſpire the king, her brother, with ſuſpicions againſt her. The letters which contained the proof of this intrigue were ſent from Rome. Salome, truſting to her innocence, for the firſt time perhaps in her life, excited the reſentment of the king againſt her former accomplice, and made him appear before a tribunal of which Varus was preſident, and which had been demanded by Herod from Auguſtus.

This laſt ſcene of the life of Herod would be affecting, if the remembrance of his cruelties did not extinguiſh every ſpark of compaſſion. Antipater appeared with the ſhame of guilt in his countenance. He proſtrated himſelf in the moſt debaſing manner, and implored the pity of Herod. "Riſe," ſaid his father to him, "and liſten." He then accuſed him of having attempted to poiſon him; explained the whole clue of the conſpiracy which he had diſcovered; called witneſſes, and produced his proofs. The laſt article of the accuſation, which he pronounced with the greateſt vehemence, was that of the death of his two

amiable ſons: "If they were guilty," ſaid he, "thou haſt been their barbarous perſecutor; and "if innocent, their infamous murderer." When he uttered the names of theſe two princes his words were interrupted by ſighs; and he could only make a ſign to his advocate to proceed to the chief heads of the accuſation. Antipater endeavoured to juſtify himſelf; but being overpowered by the weight of evidence, he had recourſe to imprecations and oaths, the uſual reſource of the worthleſs when convicted. Varus did not pronounce ſentence; it was referred to the deciſion of Auguſtus, to whom Herod wrote a letter.

During this affair the monarch, beſides diſtreſs of mind, was expoſed to great bodily affliction, by a painful diſeaſe. Hiſtorians have given us a dreadful picture of this malady, which they conſider as a puniſhment from Heaven, and the precurſor of that deſtined for this prince in the other world. Every criſis announced his ſpeedy diſſolution, and a report was one day ſpread that he was actually dead. Antipater, in his priſon, teſtified great joy on this occaſion; but his father having heard of it cauſed him to be put to death. The latter did not ſurvive his ſon above five days: he died at the age of ſixty, "conſoled," ſays Joſephus the hiſtorian, "for his domeſtic unhappi-"neſs, by the pleaſure of having ſucceeded in "every thing elſe." He retained his ferocious character till the very laſt moment. When he

found death approaching, he ordered the chief men of the nation to be aſſembled at Jericho, where they were ſhut up in the Circus; and he expreſsly charged his ſiſter Salome and her huſband Alexas to cauſe all theſe Jews to be maſſacred, as ſoon as he had emitted his laſt breath. "It is thus," ſaid he, "that I will not only re-"preſs the malignant joy of theſe people, but "oblige them even to ſhed tears at my death." This barbarous order was not executed. As ſoon as the king was dead, Alexas and Salome cauſed the Circus to be opened, and releaſed the priſoners.

Under Herod was accompliſhed the propheſy which had announced that the Meſſiah ſhould be born when the ſceptre paſſed from Judah; that is to ſay, when the Jews ſhould ceaſe to be governed by princes of their own race. Herod had deſtroyed all the Aſmonean princes; and it is therefore under him that we are to ſeek for the coming of the Meſſiah, ſo much deſired by the Jews. Theſe people do not acknowledge Jeſus, becauſe certain facts which accompanied his birth are not announced in prophane hiſtory. They wiſh to find in the life of Herod, 1. the reception which he gave to the magi; 2. his converſation with them when he deſired them to return to his court after they had found the child whom they were in queſt of; and, 3. the inhuman order which he iſſued for putting to death all the children of

The Meſſiah.

Bethlehem, below two years of age, that he might endeavour to involve in that maſſacre the one who was ſaid to be born with a right to the throne which he occupied, and which he deſtined for his own family. But the ſilence of prophane hiſtorians is not a proof that theſe facts never took place. 1. The court of Herod, rich and magnificent, was frequented by ſo many foreigners, attracted thither by curioſity, that it was impoſſible for hiſtorians to give an account of all thoſe by whom it was viſited. It was enough to mention the reception of ſome celebrated perſonages, ſuch as Cleopatra, Auguſtus, and Agrippa. 2. The uneaſineſs which Herod manifeſted to the magi, might have been conſidered by his courtiers as the effects of his gloomy ſuſpicious character, of little importance, and therefore unworthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. 3. In regard to the maſſacre of the innocent children, when we reflect on the other cruelties of Herod, who by the ſword, famine, or other means, put to death an immenſe number of both ſexes, and of all ages, the order for maſſacring the children of a village will not excite much ſurprize; and though this order might have merited the attention of thoſe intereſted, was it of ſufficient importance to fix the attention of the hiſtorian? Beſides, does not the horrid barbarity by which he wiſhed to ſtain his funeral render every thing credible of ſuch a monſter?

As he had foreſeen, the mourning on account of his death was neither ſtriking nor of long duration. Archelaus, his grand-ſon, whom by his will he had declared his ſucceſſor, gave to the funereal pomp all the ſplendour of royalty, and concluded it with a feſtival, donations to the people, and a magnificent entertainment to his friends. His will expreſsly ſtated that it ſhould not be valid till it had been confirmed by Cæſar. In conſequence of this clauſe, Archelaus would neither aſſume the crown, nor ſeat himſelf on the throne, until he had paid a viſit to Rome.

His departure was delayed by an inſurrection. As mildneſs had no effect on the inſurgents, he employed force, and this was imputed to him as a crime. During the courſe of his journey to Rome four other revolts broke out. The firſt of theſe was againſt the Roman officers who had come to execute Herod's will. The chief perſon concerned in the ſecond was an adventurer, named Judas, whoſe efforts were for ſome time attended with ſucceſs, becauſe he got poſſeſſion of a royal arſenal, where he found clothing and arms for his troops. He plundered the treaſury alſo, by which he acquired money to pay them. The third was occaſioned by a young man of a handſome figure, named Simeon, much eſteemed by the Jews, who purſued a method of war which generally ſucceeds in times of turbulence. He led his followers againſt the houſes of the opulent, Archelus, 3000.

the riches of which he allowed them to plunder. The laſt was directed by one Athronges, a brutal, ferocious man, of a gigantic ſtature, who, aſſiſted by four brothers like himſelf, had the preſumption to exchange his ſhepherds' crook for a ſceptre. His ſoldiers, worthy of ſuch a commander, committed every kind of atrocity, wherever they were able to penetrate. The Romans found it very difficult to reduce theſe inſurgents to obedience. The chiefs ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces rather than ſurrender; and by theſe means they avoided the puniſhment inflicted on their companions, who were crucified to the number of two thouſand. So many rebellions in ſo ſhort a time would almoſt juſtify the ſeverity, and even barbarity, with which Herod had governed this obſtinate and intractable people.

Notwithſtanding the difficulty of governing this nation, a diſpute reſpecting the throne took place at Rome; for Archelaus was not the only candidate. Salome, always fond of intrigue, had carried thither Antipas, another of Herod's ſons. As there exiſted two wills of that prince, by one of which he declared Antipas his ſucceſſor, and by the other gave the crown of Judea to Archelaus, the queſtion was to decide between them. The defenders of the former ſaid that it was more valid than the ſecond, having been made at a time when the mind of the teſtator was neither weakened by diſeaſe nor by old age. The advocate of Archelaus laid

great ſtreſs, in regard to the validity of his title, on the clauſe which left the execution of the will to Cæſar. A third party, compoſed of Jewiſh deputies, enemies both to Antipas and Archelaus, wiſhed for no king; but that Judea, declared a Roman province, ſhould be governed by Roman magiſtrates. Auguſtus purſued a mean courſe between theſe opinions. He gave the half of the kingdom to Archelaus, with the title of Ethnarch, or chief of the nation; but promiſed to confer on him that of king, as ſoon as he ſhould prove, by his conduct, that he was worthy of it. The portion aſſigned to Archelaus, comprehended Judea, Idumæa, and Samaria. The reſt of the ſtates of Herod were divided between his two ſons; Philip, who had a part of Galilee, with the adjacent diſtricts; and Antipas, who got the other part as far as the river Jordan. Salome, who was much favoured in both the wills, did not ſuffer herſelf to be neglected in the partition. She received cities and money. Auguſtus diſtributed the whole bequeſt to the other grand-ſons of the deceaſed; married the daughters, who remained to be provided for; and kept nothing to himſelf but ſome plate of little value, out of regard for the memory of his friend.

The clauſe which promiſed royalty to Archelaus, in caſe of his good behaviour, was not inſerted without a good reaſon. This prince gave very little hope of a mild and prudent government. He

was conſidered as deſpotic and revengeful; and the manner in which he had terminated and puniſhed the rebellion, before his journey to Rome, had afforded a juſt cauſe for reproaching him with cruelty. The event correſponded too much with this commencement. Beſides bad conduct, immorality, public libertiniſm, and open irreligion, the Jews and Samaritans went to Rome to complain of his extortion and tyranny. Auguſtus ordered him to appear like a plain individual; exiled him to Vienne in Gaul, after confiſcating his property; and reduced his poſſeſſions into the form of a Roman province.

In a few years there were four governors, all avaricious, imperious, arbitrary, extortioners, and contemners of thoſe whom they governed, which is often the ſource of the greateſt calamities. All theſe bad qualities were united, in an eminent degree, in Pontius Pilate, the fifth. Like his predeceſſors, he ſported with the dignity of high-prieſt; conferring and reſuming it, without regard to merit, or the opinion of the public; which, though often the effect of prejudice, is reſpectable when univerſal, and at any rate ought not to be violated but with the utmoſt precaution, and in caſes of neceſſity. The Jews abhorred images; and conſidered them, even on military ſtandards, as ſigns of paganiſm, which ought to be interdicted from entering the holy city. Pilate was aware of this averſion; but, either to mortify them or to

extort money, for he was extremely avaricious, he introduced the Roman eagles into Jeruſalem. The inhabitants, in great conſternation, went and begged he would order theſe objects of ſcandal to be withdrawn. They remained five days and five nights proſtrated at the gate of his palace without receiving an anſwer. At laſt, he ſeemed willing to give them a hearing; ordered a tribunal to be erected in the Circus, and cauſed himſelf to be ſurrounded by ſoldiers, who were commanded, on a certain ſignal, to fall upon thoſe who refuſed to depart. The Jews, however, far from being terrified, ſtretched out their necks to the aſſaſſins, proteſting that death would be leſs terrible to them than the violation of their laws. Pilate ſuffered himſelf to be moved, and ordered the ſtandards to be withdrawn from their metropolis. On other occaſions, the fear of being denounced to Cæſar made him revoke unjuſt orders, though diſpoſed to repeat them through the ſame fear.

Such was the governor of Judea when Jeſus made himſelf known in that country. Were he only an extraordinary man, his life would deſerve to be recorded; but it is certainly much more worthy of attention, when we conſider him as the author of a religion which has been extended over the whole earth. Jeſus was poor, though of the race of David. His mother conceived him when ſtill a virgin, and brought him into the world in a village of Galilee. His birth was announced to

the high and the low; to the latter by the miniſtry of angels, who communicated this intelligence to ſhepherds; and to the former by a ſtar, which conducted the wiſe men to his cradle. His mother was obliged to carry him with her to Egypt, to avoid the jealous reſearches of Herod. At the age of twelve he aſtoniſhed the doctors in the temple, by the wiſdom of his replies.

Miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, 3029.

His miſſion had been foretold by John, the ſon of Zacharias, a prieſt or prophet, and the precurſor of the Meſſiah. John's diſciples attached themſelves to Chriſt, by the orders of their maſter. Water changed into wine, is the firſt miracle which atteſted his power; and the expulſion of the money changers from the temple, which they prophaned, his firſt act of authority. By his profound knowledge he converted a doctor of the phariſees, named Nicodemus. He was much affected by the fate of John, who fell a victim to his zeal againſt the vices of Herod and his wife Herodias. His curing the centurion's ſon, delivering the demoniac from the ſpirits by which he was tormented, the miraculous draught of fiſhes, and his reſtoring the man lame of the palſy to the uſe of his limbs, ſerved to ſupport his doctrine. He healed on the ſabbath day, notwithſtanding the ſcandal which this gave to the phariſees, who were more attached to the letter than the ſpirit of the law.

Nothing can be more aſtoniſhing than his choice

of apoſtles, whom he ſelected from the lower claſſes of the people, who were rude and ignorant. Mildneſs, benevolence, and the ſpirit of peace, are diſplayed in his ſermon on the Mount; and his tender indulgence for penitent ſinners, is exhibited in the conſoling reception which he gave to a female offender. Repentance ought to be encouraged. "The bruiſed reed ye ſhall not break, nor quench "the ſmoking flax." The woman caught in adultery, who was ſtill more criminal, when brought before him found comfort. "Let him," ſaid he, "who is without ſin caſt the firſt ſtone "at her." On this reply, her accuſers, who thought to obtain from him a ſentence of death, retired in confuſion.

The precepts of Jeſus breathed nothing but meekneſs, and his remonſtrances a deſire of being uſeful. His parables abound with truth; and his exhortations with the pathetic. What virtue does he not extol; againſt what vice does he not denounce judgement. Whether he makes the lame to walk, opens the eyes of the blind, or raiſes the dead, he does it like one maſter of nature; without exertion, and without ſeeming aſtoniſhed at his power. He enters the ſea, and it becomes ſolid beneath his feet. Under his beneficent hand five loaves are multiplied ſo as to be ſufficient to feed five thouſand perſons. But if the deity is diſplayed in his miracles, he ſhewed himſelf as a man to his friends. How ſweet the tears which he ſhed

with the afflicted ſiſters of Lazarus, and that tranſport of affection to his diſciples, when he ſaid: "Let us go and reſtore him to life." What contraſt between this ſenſibility for a friend, and the indifference with which he foretold the calumnies that would be heaped upon him, the torments to which he would be expoſed, and the ignominious death prepared for him!

It was the work of the hatred of the phariſees, whoſe pride he checked, and whoſe hypocriſy he unmaſked. They extorted a ſentence of condemnation againſt him from Pontius Pilate the governor, by threatening to denounce him to Cæſar if he pardoned a man who ſtyled himſelf king of the Jews. As the whole life of Jeſus had been one continued miracle, his death was equally glorious. He roſe from the grave on the third day, ſhewed himſelf to his apoſtles, and ordered them to go and preach his doctrine throughout the whole earth. In an enlightened age, in a city diſtinguiſhed by its opulence, the centre of luxury and pleaſure, twelve rude and ignorant men taught and eſtabliſhed a religion founded on myſteries; hoſtile to pleaſure, and an enemy to pomp and every thing that flatters the pride of man. They made it prevail, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the doctors, as well as the prejudice of ſovereigns; and it, at length, overſpread the whole earth. Such, in a few words, is the life and doctrine of the founder of chriſtianity. Its ſucceſs, which is

the greateſt of all miracles, may alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh the truth of its divine origin.

The mean complacency of Pontius Pilate, which made him ſign the ſentence of death againſt Jeſus Chriſt, contrary to the remonſtrance of his own conſcience, did not ſave him from the diſgrace which he apprehended. The Jews having complained of his extortion, he was recalled and ſent into exile. A king, tried by the viciſſitudes of fortune, ſucceeded a ſeries of governors, whom Judea had ſometimes cauſe to commend, and ſometimes to condemn. Agrippa.

Herod Agrippa, the grand-ſon of Herod the Great, was educated at Rome in the court of Tiberius, with Druſus and Caius, ſurnamed afterwards Caligula. Agrippa, by theſe means was accuſtomed to luxury and extravagance. On the death of Druſus, Tiberius diſmiſſed the friends of that prince, in order that he might not have before his eyes people who would continually recal to his remembrance a beloved nephew. In conſequence of this meaſure, Agrippa found himſelf in the greateſt embarraſſment, without reſources, and loaded with debt. He ſhut himſelf up, therefore, in a caſtle of Idumæa, reſolved to ſtarve himſelf to death. His wife ſupplied him with ſome ſuccours, which were ſoon exhauſted. Herod Antipas, his brother-in-law, thought he conferred on him a noble preſent by giving him the chief magiſtracy of Tiberias, on the revenue of which he might

have ſubſiſted in an honourable manner; but this income was not ſufficient for a man incapable of regulating his expenſes by the rules of prudence.

Being reproached on this account by his brother-in-law, Agrippa, ill calculated to endure any reprimand, retired to Flaccus the governor of Syria, with whom he lived ſome time at eaſe; but a quarrel having taken place between them, he returned to Rome, reſolved to run every hazard; and indeed his creditors cauſed him to be arreſted, and to be thrown into priſon. While he was languiſhing in confinement, Tiberius died, and was ſucceeded by Caligula. The firſt care of the new emperor was to releaſe his friend Agrippa, who being transferred from a dungeon to the palace, exchanged his chains of iron for one of gold, which was preſented to him by Caligula, who clothed him in purple, placed the diadem on his head, and eſtabliſhed him king of Judea. The Jews have had few princes from whoſe government they received ſo much benefit. Paſſing through Alexandria, on his way to his kingdom, he cauſed the governor to be puniſhed, for having behaved to him in an unbecoming manner.

This prince riſqued his favour with Caligula, and even his life, to prevent the inhabitants of Jeruſalem from ſeeing an inſult offered to their religion, which they dreaded more than death. The emperor had taken it into his head to erect a ſtatute of Jupiter in the temple, and to cauſe him-

ſelf to be adored there as a god. In vain did Petronius, the governor, defer the execution of this order, by ſaying that it would be neceſſary to give time to the artiſts to finiſh the ſtatue, which ought to be a maſter-piece. Caligula inſiſted; and Petronius, notwithſtanding his good intentions, was on the point of being forced to obey. Agrippa, who was at Rome, waited on the emperor with a deſign of making him change, or at leaſt ſuſpend, his ſacrilegious order; but the king, inſtead of being treated with the uſual kindneſs, received the following anſwer, equally fooliſh as impious: "Your Jewiſh ſubjects are ſtrange people, to re- "fuſe to acknowledge me as a god. I command- "ed a ſtatue of Jupiter to be erected in their "temple; but it ſeems that my orders have met "with a reſiſtance, which I muſt conſider as open "rebellion." On hearing theſe words, Agrippa, as if thunderſtruck, fell down ſenſeleſs, and was removed from the preſence of the emperor, who did not appear to be in the leaſt affected by his ſituation. After ſome days, however, Agrippa, who knew his weak ſide, gave a grand entertainment; and during the gaiety of convivial enjoyment, obtained what had been denied to him at a leſs propitious moment.

Agrippa was of conſiderable ſervice to Claudius in aſſiſting him to obtain the throne; and by this kind office he decidedly acquired his favour, which he employed for the good of his people. When

he returned to his kingdom, he diſplayed more zeal for the Jewiſh religion than any of his predeceſſors. Beſides diſtinguiſhing himſelf by a ſincere attachment to the worſhip of his anceſtors, he rendered himſelf worthy of eſteem by ſeveral acts of generoſity and mercy; yet he has not been praiſed by the chriſtian hiſtorians, becauſe he began the perſecutions againſt their religion. By the influence which he enjoyed at Rome, he obtained leave to fortify a great many cities. The ſuſpicious Romans, however, obliged him to deſiſt from the conſtruction of a rampart, which might have rendered Jeruſalem almoſt impregnable. He was ſo much reſpected by his neighbours that, during a journey which he undertook to Tiberias, he was viſited and complimented by five kings. This aſſemblage of monarchs formed a ſingular contraſt with the modeſt part which he had before acted in the ſame city, when its chief magiſtrate. Inſtead of forgetting his former ſtate, he cauſed to be ſuſpended in the temple, cloſe to his diadem, the gold chain which he had exchanged for that of iron, as a monument of the viciſſitudes of fortune. He left a ſon, named Agrippa, aged ſeventeen, and three daughters, all betrothed to kings.

Claudius at firſt was deſirous of placing young Agrippa on the throne; but having on reflexion altered his mind, he reduced Judea into the form of a Roman province, and after ſome years gave it to Agrippa, in exchange for the kingdom of

Chalcis. Judea was committed to the care of a governor named Felix, brother to Pallas the emperor's favourite. In mentioning this conſanguinity we mean to ſay, that the governor thought himſelf authorized to act as he pleaſed; and that the Jews were exceedingly miſerable under his rod of iron. He had already appeared, and was always ſeen, accompanied by bands of banditti. By the negligence or colluſion of the governor they introduced themſelves into cities, and he made uſe of them to get rid of thoſe who offended him. After his example the Jews became accuſtomed to hire aſſaſſins for the like purpoſe.

Great diſorder had taken place in the ſanctuary. For a long time the high-prieſts had only ſhewn themſelves on the pontifical throne. Kings, governors, prætors, and all thoſe who had authority, found it their intereſt to render this dignity unſteady, and to make it paſs as it were from hand to hand. The inferior prieſts were equally unſettled in their places. It was neceſſary that thoſe expelled, as well as thoſe who poſſeſſed them, ſhould live; but as the tithes, offerings, and other perquiſites, were inſufficient for that purpoſe, they wreſted them from each other. Their animoſity proceeded to ſuch a length, that the competitors never appeared in public without being accompanied by aſſaſſins; and they attacked each other even when they met in the temple, which they ſtained with the blood of martyrs. Feſtus, the

ſucceſſor of Felix, employed the whole period of his government in endeavouring to ſuppreſs three commotions, which may be called civil wars: that of the prieſts among themſelves; that of the ſeditious laics againſt the Romans and the Jews, who had voluntarily ſubmitted to them; and, in the laſt place, that againſt the banditti. The laſt inſinuated themſelves ſecretly into private houſes, and lay in wait on the highways; but particularly for women and children, whom they carried off to their retreats, from which they ſent notice to their relations, that they would releaſe them for a certain ranſom.

Feſtus was ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus, who ſhewed how great a ſcourge a wicked man may be when armed with power. His rapine, his cruelty, and the communication he kept up for his own private ends with the moſt deſperate of the banditti, were ſo notorious, and ſo diſguſting, that the Jews did not conſider him ſo much as a magiſtrate ſent to govern them, as an executioner deſtined to exterminate them. His object was to excite them to open rebellion, that he might have the cruel pleaſure of beholding them deſtroy each other, or to prevent them from examining his horrid adminiſtration. He ſucceeded too well in this abominable deſign; and ſcattered the ſeeds of diſcord in ſuch a manner, that he found means to kindle up a war which did not terminate but with the total ruin of the Jewiſh nation. Jeſus Chriſt had predicted this in

a manner almoſt as clear as if he had ſpoken after the event; but what ſhall we think of what is related by Joſephus, the hiſtorian, of a peaſant named Jeſus?

He was ſeized during the feaſt of tabernacles with a ſtrange phrenzy, running up and down the ſtreets of the city in the night time, crying out: "Woe to the city! Woe to the temple! A voice "from the four winds! A voice againſt Jeru- "ſalem! A voice againſt the people!" He repeated theſe melancholy exclamations during feſtivals, and on the ſabbath day, without his voice being ever weakened. The Jewiſh chiefs ordered him to be ſcourged; but they were not able to make him anſwer any of their queſtions, or to hold his tongue. The governor increaſed the ſeverity of his puniſhment, and cauſed his fleſh to be torn till he was covered with blood; but he did not ſuffer a ſingle word, nor even a ſigh, to eſcape from his lips. He neither reviled thoſe who ſtruck him, nor thanked thoſe who ſupplied him with food. He was at laſt ſuffered to go about as a madman, and the people became accuſtomed to hear his raving without emotion; but one day, after having pronounced his terrible threats, he added in a more melancholy tone: "Woe to thee alſo!" was at the ſame time ſtruck by a ſtone thrown from a machine, fell down, and inſtantly expired.

The hatred of the people againſt Florus had riſen to the utmoſt height, and extended even to

the Romans, and to thoſe who were attached to them. Wherever the Jews had the ſuperiority none of them were ſpared; and the Romans in revenge maſſacred thoſe Jews even who held their peace, and remained quiet in their habitations. Thus Florus, though his motive is not known, ſent ſoldiers to plunder the market, with orders to put to death all thoſe whom they found in it. More than three thouſand perſons—men, women, and children—were butchered on this occaſion by theſe executioners, who carried to the governor ſeveral priſoners, among whom were people of diſtinction who had been created Roman knights. This title, however, did not ſave them from the cruelty of Florus, who cauſed them to be ſcourged before his tribunal, and afterwards crucified. Every body deſerted this unfortunate city; and above all the chriſtians, who by this time were pretty numerous. The caſe was the ſame throughout the reſt of Judea; every one fled from a proſcribed land, inundated with blood, and covered with dead bodies. If the account given by hiſtorians be juſt, the number of the dead who were interred in the cities and different parts of the country is aſtoniſhing: twenty thouſand at Cæſarea; forty thouſand at Jotapa; fifty thouſand at Alexandra; twenty-three thouſand at Scythopolis; without reckoning thoſe who periſhed by ſurprize, by ambuſcades, and ſudden rencounters;—a kind of war exceedingly deſtructive.

The accounts tranſmitted from all quarters of the horrid ſcenes by which this unhappy country was laid waſte, made Nero, at length, reſolve to employ every means in his power to ſubdue it. As this war required a man of courage and talents, the emperor gave the command to Veſpaſian, already known by an almoſt ſimilar expedition to Germany. He advanced into the kingdom, according to the rules of the military art; took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong places, and drove to the centre of the country thoſe whom religious zeal, or the fear of being puniſhed for their barbarities, prevented from ſurrendering themſelves to the Romans: in general, they were called zealots. But the number of thoſe who made religion a pretence was greater than that of thoſe who had taken up arms through real atachment to their religious principles. Several of theſe people being filled with horror on account of the infamous conduct of their colleagues, abandoned that infernal body, ſo that at laſt none remained but deſperate banditti, who retained the once honourable name of zealots. They are deſcribed as haughty, ambitious, and cruel men, who committed with cool deliberation the moſt horrible crimes for the glory of God, who would have been offended, they ſaid, if his people had ſubmitted to the authority of pagans. Veſpaſian and Titus, 3069.

Their firſt chiefs were Zacharias and Eleazar, who took poſſeſſion of the temple, from which they

ſallied forth at different times on the city. Ananus, who had been high-prieſt, aſſiſted by the people over whom he retained ſome influence, expelled them from the outer cincture; but having unfortunately admitted into his confidence one John, the ſon of Levi, this man, by pretending to eſpouſe the moderate party, only ſought for an opportunity of betraying him. Ananus ſent him to make propoſals to the zealots for an accommodation; but, inſtead of inducing them to accept the terms offered, John adviſed them to remain firm, and to call in to their aſſiſtance the Idumæans, or the zealots who reſided in the country. Theſe people arrived, and found means to introduce themſelves into the temple. There was no kind of cruelty then which the two bands united did not exerciſe towards the oppoſite party. As they thought ſpeedy death too mild, they endeavoured to bring the art of torturing to perfection, and never deprived their enemies of life till the exceſs of their lingering torments had deprived them of all ſenſation. It is to be obſerved, that to cover theſe murders with the veil of juſtice, they eſtabliſhed a kind of tribunal, before which they made their victims appear; but when the deciſion did not pleaſe them they butchered them on the ſpot. "This acquittal," ſaid they ironically, "is "more certain than that of the judges."

Twelve thouſand perſons were deſtroyed during this firſt maſſacre, the greater part of whom were

people of diſtinction, and in the flower of their age. The fury of the zealots was extended not to the populace, who were all in their favour, but to the artificers, and thoſe in eaſy circumſtances. The appearance even of oppoſition to them in any point was a capital crime. Thoſe who remained inactive were their ſpies. Whoever did not applaud their infamous actions were conſidered as ill affected towards them; but thoſe who were accounted rich, or who offended a zealot, were ſure to periſh. People durſt neither emit a ſigh, nor ſhed a tear for their friends who had been maſſacred; nor even commit their bodies to the earth. Their barbarity had extinguiſhed in the perſecuted every other ſentiment but fear. The Idumæans, at laſt, became tired of theſe horrors, and all of them, a few excepted, abandoned the zealots, after ſetting at liberty two thouſand priſoners.

Beſides motives of humanity which made them quit Jeruſalem, the Idumæans were recalled to their own country by the ravages of the chief of a new party. This chief, named Simon, an ambitious and enterprizing young man, to increaſe his followers, ſet at liberty the ſlaves, and conferred rewards on the free. He thus formed an army, which gave the zealots uneaſineſs, becauſe Simon ſhewed that he had ſome deſign of making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem. Several ſkirmiſhes took place between the two parties; but as Simon

had not yet found a moment ſufficiently favourable, he retired to Idumæa. The Idumæans, to the number of twenty thouſand, marched againſt him, and a battle took place which was not deciſive; but Simon, who was as artful as brave, found means to give his enemies a general, who delivered up to him the Idumæan army, according to a convention previouſly ſettled between them.

While Simon was employed in Idumæa, the zealots of Jeruſalem, who ſometimes ventured without the walls, got poſſeſſion of his wife; and they imagined, that in order to recover her, he would agree to any conditions they might think proper to impoſe: they were however deceived. Simon poſted himſelf with his army before the gates of Jeruſalem; and by his cruelties ſtruck ſuch a terror into his enemies, that they were happy to give up his wife.

The zealots had no longer Zacharias and Eleazar for their chiefs. John, who betrayed the confidence of Ananus, had ſupplanted them; but by his deceitful conduct he offended a great part of his followers, who choſe as chief a prieſt named Eleazar. As John, notwithſtanding this diviſion of his forces, did not become more tractable, the people were ſo much diſſatisfied that they introduced Simon into the city, by which means the number of the chiefs was increaſed to three. Eleazar occupied the court of the prieſts, which

was the moſt advantageous poſt; but he had only two thouſand four hundred men, whom he was not able to maintain but by the offerings of the faithful. The court of the people, which was much larger, contained under John ſix thouſand, for whom he was obliged to procure proviſions by continual ſallies. On theſe occaſions, as he ſet every thing on fire, he reduced to aſhes a great deal of corn and other proviſions, which might have aſſiſted the inhabitants to ſuſtain the ſiege for ſeveral years. Simon, who with ſix thouſand zealots, and five thouſand Idumæans, was maſter of the city, intercepted on the other hand the proviſions deſtined for John, by whoſe addreſs theſe three chiefs were ſoon reduced to two. During a ſolemn feſtival he mixed among thoſe who entered the prieſt's court to depoſit their offerings a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, who made themſelves maſters of the gates.

Such was the ſtate of Jeruſalem on the acceſſion of Veſpaſian to the empire, after the death of Nero. This prince entruſted to his ſon the ſiege of the city, for which he had made the neceſſary preparations. The feſtivals had brought thither a multitude of Jews, whom the zealots incorporated among their troops, partly with their own conſent, and partly by force, and who thus ſerved to increaſe the famine, and to render it more dreadful. They alſo contrived uſeleſs labours to detain workmen, whom they converted into ſoldiers or aſſaſ- Siege, 3972.

ſins. Titus began by making propoſals, which John and Simon both rejected. Not that there was any agreement between theſe chiefs; on the contrary, they carried on war againſt each other with fury and obſtinacy; but they united and aſſiſted each other to repel the Romans. As much harmony prevailed between them, as can take place among banditti when they have occaſion to plunder or to ſearch for proviſions.

The ſiege began with all that fury which is inſpired by hatred on the part of the aſſailants, as well as on that of the beſiegers. After trying gentle means in vain, Titus ſhewed himſelf inexorable and ſevere. All thoſe who were taken with arms in their hand were affixed to the croſs. The zealots ſpread a report that the Romans inflicted this cruel puniſhment on thoſe who ſurrendered, and Titus found it difficult to undeceive them; but when they were convinced of their error, many of the Jews endeavoured to eſcape to the Roman camp. It would appear that the zealots ought to have favoured this deſertion to ſave their proviſions; but this was ſo far from being the caſe, that the deſire of involving others in their ruin, and even the whole world, had it been poſſible, made them keep ſtrict guard to ſtop thoſe who wiſhed to eſcape: many of the unfortunate wretches who contrived to elude the centinels, found a new kind of danger among the Romans. It was found out that ſome of them had ſwallowed diamonds,

and pieces of gold. Avarice, which acknowledges no laws, induced the ſoldiers to rip up their bellies in order to find the treaſure. More than two thouſand periſhed before Titus was informed of this barbarity, but the guilty were too numerous to be puniſhed.

At the ſame time that the zealots detained the people, and deprived them with the utmoſt cruelty of the few neceſſaries of life which remained, they forced open the houſes, and if they found any proviſions, they maſſacred the owners for attempting to keep theſe articles to themſelves. If they found nothing, they ſubjected them to the moſt horrid tortures, to compel them to diſcover where they had concealed their proviſions. On an occaſion of this kind, theſe ſatellites, attracted by the ſmell, entered the houſe of an unfortunate mother, who was devouring her child to appeaſe her hunger. "Yes," ſaid ſhe to them with every expreſſion of rage, "yes, barbarians, this is my "own ſon, in whoſe blood I have imbrued my "hands. You have deprived me of every thing; "take theſe wretched remains and eat. Have "you leſs reſolution than a woman? Or have "you more compaſſion than a mother?" On hearing this horrid ſpeech they fled, filled with conſternation and horror.

It is aſtoniſhing that a whole nation ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be reduced to ſuch extremities by a handful of deſperadoes, far inferior in

number; but the latter, beſides being armed, had in their favour the illuſion of the people, who were perſuaded that God would not ſuffer his city and temple to fall into the hands of the prophane, and that he would at length come to their relief. Impoſtors, taught to aſſume the character of prophets, maintained them in theſe hopes even when every thing was in a deſperate condition. One of them had ſo much the art of perſuading theſe miſerable wretches, that they repaired to the number of ſix thouſand to an elevated part of the temple, to look out for the promiſed aſſiſtance.

Notwithſtanding the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, the Romans by repeated aſſaults, in which machines and fire were employed with equal ſucceſs, eſtabliſhed themſelves in the city, or rather on heaps of ruins, covered with ſpectres extenuated by famine, who ſtretched out their hands to the chains, and their necks to the ſword of the conqueror. The deſolation of a city abandoned to the flames may be readily conceived. In vain did Titus endeavour to preſerve the temple from the fury of the ſoldiers. The propheſies were accompliſhed. Not a ſtone of it was left upon another. He ſaved only the ſacred veſſels, and the inſtruments uſed in ſacrifice, which ſerved to ornament his triumph. Of the unfortunate inhabitants, ſome ſuffered for their obſtinacy by the horrid puniſhment of the croſs; and others were ſent into ſlavery, driven about like herds of cattle,

condemned to periſh in the arena as gladiators, or to expire under the murderous teeth of ferocious animals at the public ſpectacles. According to the moſt moderate calculation, the number of thoſe who periſhed by violent deaths during this war, in the ſmall country of Judea, amounted to one million four hundred and four thouſand four hundred and ninety, without including thoſe who died of grief and famine, or victims to other ſcourges inſeparable from ſo bloody a revolution.

John and Simon had prepared places of retreat ſo concealed, that it was impoſſible to find them. The former being compelled by famine to leave his abode, threw himſelf on the mercy of Titus, who granted him his life at the end of more than a month. Simon, alſo, after he had been almoſt forgotten, ſuddenly made his appearance on the ruins of the temple, like a kind of phantom, dreſſed in white, and with a mantle of purple. He was immediately ſeized, and put in chains. Both theſe chiefs were reſerved for the triumph of Titus. After the ceremony, Simon was ſcourged and beheaded, and John was condemned to perpetual impriſonment; a dreadful leſſon both for thoſe who miſlead, and for the people who ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced! Since that time the unfortunate Jews have been wandering about in all nations, objects of hatred and contempt.

Titus had been aſſiſted in his conqueſt by the arms of Agrippa, and during the tedioufneſs of the

ſiege amuſed by his ſiſter Berenice. This princeſs had been married to a king of Arabia, whom ſhe quitted for Philip, a prince of her own family; and from his arms ſhe paſſed voluntarily into thoſe of Herod her brother-in-law. By her great beauty, experience, and coquettiſh airs, ſhe captivated the conqueror of Jeruſalem, who carried her to Rome, where ſhe remained as much miſtreſs of his houſe as if ſhe had been his wife. Some pretend, that he would have married her had he not been apprehenſive that his alliance with a Jew would have excluded him from the empire. He, therefore, diſmiſſed her much againſt her will. One of the beſt French poets has celebrated, with his uſual elegance, the tender ſcene of their ſeparation.

PARTHIANS.

Parthia, between the Indus, the Tigris, the Red Sea, and Mount Caucaſus.

The ſituation of Parthia will be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, by ſaying that the city of Iſpahan, which at preſent is the capital of Perſia, is built on the ſite of Hecatompylos, or the city with a hundred gates, the capital of Parthia. We ſhould be deceived were we to believe that this empire, which made even Rome tremble, was confined within the narrow limits of the modern kingdom of Perſia. It extended over almoſt all Aſia. It is ſuppoſed that its ancient inhabitants, thoſe Parthians ſo famous in hiſtory, were of Scythian extraction, and that driven from their own country,

under the name of Parthians, which means exiles, they ſettled in theſe ſandy plains. The air here is pure and ſalubrious; but the land is deſtitute of fertility.

The Parthians were a brave people, and accounted, with great juſtice, the beſt horſemen and archers in the world. They were accuſtomed from their infancy to mount on horſeback, and to make uſe of the bow. Their manner of ſhooting behind them, and retiring, rendered their flight more formidable than their attack. From the age of twenty to that fifty they were obliged to ſerve in war, and the great appeared on horſeback and armed even in the time of peace. Though hardy ſoldiers, they were not inſenſible to the attractions of pleaſure, and the enjoyments of the table. Polygamy and marriage with ſiſters, and even with mothers, were permitted. They were acquainted neither with agriculture, navigation, nor commerce, being wholly occupied with military affairs. Thoſe killed in battle were ſuppoſed to enjoy immortal happineſs: a principle of belief exceedingly well calculated to render a nation warlike. Their religion was the ſame as that of the ancient Perſians, who worſhipped the ſun, under the name of Mithras. To break their word they conſidered as a great infamy. Their kings were the vaineſt and the moſt abſolute of monarchs. One of them, named Arſaces, in writing to Flavius Veſpaſian, ſtyled himſelf the king

Manners.

of kings. The Roman emperor ſmiled, and in his anſwer wrote: "Flavius Veſpaſian to Arſaces "king of kings."

Arſaces I. 2699. The name of Arſaces was hereditary among the Parthians, as that of Ptolemy among the Egyptians. The firſt who rendered this name celebrated, by being the founder of the monarchy, was, it is ſaid, one of the principal noblemen of Bactria. He exhorted the Parthians, whom Alexander had ſubdued, to revolt from the Seleucidæ, his ſucceſſors. Beſides the country which he wreſted from the Syrian government, he ſubdued Hyrcania, and other neighbouring provinces. Arſaces II. by whom he was ſucceeded, Priapatius, his grand-ſon, and Phraates, the ſucceſſor of the latter, laid a foundation by their victories, for the reign of Mithridates, which ought to be conſidered as the epoch of the grandeur of this monarchy. His brother Phraates had left him the crown to the excluſion of his children, becauſe he thought him more worthy of it. Mithridates did not deceive his hopes. He reduced under his government the Perſians and Medes, as well as Meſopotamia, and extended his conqueſts farther in India than Alexander. He is entitled to praiſe for having, at that period, treated with reſpect a vanquiſhed king, who was his priſoner. Firm and courageous, he poſſeſſed, at the ſame time, a mildneſs of diſpoſition, which made him beloved by all thoſe around him. We are aſſured, that he

examined with great attention the laws of all the people whom he conquered; that he ſelected the beſt of them, which he formed into a code for the government of his empire; and that he was both a good warrior, and an excellent legiſlator.

The reigns of five ſucceeding kings afford no important facts, unleſs we claſs under that head the kind of leſſon given to Phraates II. by ſome mercenary Greeks, whom he had conquered; and who, after being diſarmed, were kept in a ſtate of ſevere captivity. Having occaſion for their aſſiſtance againſt the Scythians, he reſtored their arms; but being leſs affected by this forced kindneſs than the former inſult, they turned them againſt him, and did him great hurt. It is a miſtaken notion, to believe that the reparation of an injury makes friends of thoſe whom we have offended.

The invaſion of Parthia by Craſſus took place in the time of Orodes. It is generally allowed that avarice alone induced the Roman general to undertake this expedition. He was, however, exceedingly rich; but he ſaid that a Roman citizen could not be conſidered as wealthy, unleſs he was in a condition to maintain an army. It ought to be remarked alſo, that he was already pretty far advanced in life. He thought proper to ridicule Dejotarus king of Galatia, becauſe when an old man he had begun to build a city. "It is rather Orodes, 2944.

" a little too late," ſaid he, " when one is at the " twelfth hour of the day." This was the laſt hour, according to the Roman way of reckoning. " And you," replied Dejotarus, " do not cer- " tainly begin your expedition againſt the Par- " thians too early in the morning." As Dejotarus meant only to build, he might have ſaid that it is never too late to begin a good work.

Orodes, when Craſſus entered his territories, ſent to aſk him what he wanted: " I will give " you an anſwer at Seleucia," ſaid Craſſus. The envoy replied, ſhewing him the palm of his hand; " Before you are maſter of Seleucia, you will ſee " hair grow here." Craſſus had given proofs of his good generalſhip under Sylla. He was be- ſides a man of letters, a philoſopher, a learned antiquarian, and well verſed in hiſtory; but it ap- pears that ſcience, which ought to have rendered him modeſt, was of no ſervice to him in the war with the Parthians. He marched againſt theſe people like a man confident of victory; and we have too many inſtances in hiſtory, that no enemy is contemptible. That of the Parthians will ſhew us alſo, that every general who makes war in a manner new to his enemy is ſure of tri- umphing.

The king of the Parthians divided his forces into two bodies. With one of theſe he marched towards Armenia, to make a powerful diverſion in that country, the king of which had de-

clared for the Romans. The other body directed its courſe towords Meſopotamia, under the command of a general, named Surenas, deſcended from one of the oldeſt families of Parthia, and at that time about thirty-two years of age. He was diſtinguiſhed by a majeſtic figure, an affable countenance, and the moſt amiable manners. To theſe qualities were united wiſdom in council, the impetuoſity neceſſary to lead on ſuch troops as thoſe which he commanded, and prudence to reſtrain them.

The confidence which Craſſus placed in a treacherous guide, led the Romans into a rugged country, where marching became exceedingly laborious. Proviſions could not be procured, but with great difficulty; no water was to be found; and they arrived, as Surenas wiſhed, after being ſadly haraſſed, in an open ſandy plain, not far from the city of Carrhæ, in Meſopotamia. Surenas then appeared with his army, drawn up in the order of battle. The Romans advanced, as uſual, with great impetuoſity, to penetrate the enemy's ranks; but in an inſtant this whole army vaniſhed, and none of them were ſeen, but a few roving troops, and detachments of archers and ſlingers, who in turns annoyed them with ſhowers of ſtones and of arrows. If the Romans advanced to repulſe one body they immediately retired, and returned to the charge as ſoon as they had rejoined the main army. The unfortunate Romans

thus found themſelves attacked without having the means of defenſe. They were even ignorant of the quarter from which the greateſt danger was to be apprehended, becauſe the Parthian horſes raiſed thick clouds of duſt, which tended greatly to favour their ſudden irruptions.

The flower of the Roman army firſt periſhed with young Craſſus, who commanded under his father, to whom the Parthians preſented the head of his ſon ſtuck on a pike. The Romans were thrown into great conſternation by this horrid ſpectacle. The unfortunate father, ſuppreſſing his grief, ran from rank to rank, crying out — "Soldiers, this misfortune concerns me alone. "Rome is invincible, if you remain firm, and "undaunted." Theſe words, however, were drowned by the cries of the unfortunate ſoldiers, who were filled with the fury of deſpair, as their courage was ſo depreſſed that they had loſt all hopes. If the officers exhorted them to advance, that they might extricate themſelves from their dangerous ſituation, they ſhewed their hands nailed to their buckles, and their feet fixed to the ground with arrows. They had been ſome time in expectation that this murderous cloud would be exhauſted; but they obſerved, with the utmoſt grief, that the Parthians were followed by carriages, loaded with arrows and darts. Their deſpair was now increaſed. They tore with fury from their bodies the arrows with which they had been

pierced, and with their barbed points, drew after them their bowels. Craſſus was ſo much affected, that he wiſhed to die in the field of battle, but he was carried off by his officers. They made a kind of retreat, which was favoured by the night; becauſe the Parthians were ſo ſuperſtitious, or ſo prudent, as not to combat in the dark. Their flight was retarded by the feeble ſtate of the wounded, and the lamentable ſupplications of thoſe whom they abandoned.

The remains of the army might have eſcaped, had not a traitor, whom Craſſus took for his guide, conducted them into a marſh, from which it was difficult for them to extricate themſelves. Surenas appeared, and demanded a conference with the conſul, who at firſt heſitated; but he was urged by his ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that he could not refuſe: "You ſee," ſaid he to his officers, "to what indignities I am expoſed; but "when you have got to a place of ſafety, tell "the whole world, for the honour of Rome, "our dear country, that Craſſus periſhed, de-"ceived by his enemies, and not abandoned by "his ſoldiers." He then reſigned himſelf to his fate, and proceeded to the place of interview. It is not known whether it was compaſſion, or the bitter ſpirit of raillery, which induced Surenas to ſay on this occaſion: "What do I ſee?—A Ro-"man general on foot, and we on horſeback! "Let a horſe be brought for him immediately."

Craſſus replied, with great preſence of mind—"There is no reaſon for being ſurprized. We "are come only to an interview, each after the "manner of his country." Surenas then ſaid: "There ſhall be henceforth a peace between "Orodes and the Romans; but we muſt ſign "the articles of it on the banks of the Eu-"phrates." At the ſame time, ſome domeſtics placed the conſul on a horſe, which they began to whip with great violence, in order to make him quicken his pace. The Romans who had accompanied Craſſus endeavoured to oppoſe this violence, and one of them ſeized the bridle, which a Parthian attempted to wreſt from him. A ſcuffle then enſued, in which ſwords were drawn on both ſides; and in the confuſion Craſſus was wounded and fell. It is not known whether he was killed by a Parthian, or by his own ſoldiers, to prevent him falling into the hands of the enemy. The reſt of the army ſurrendered at diſcretion. It was one of the fineſt ever raiſed by the republic; and for the firſt time the Romans were detained in captivity with ten thouſand men.

As Surenas was not able to triumph over the perſon of Craſſus he triumphed over his phantom. Having found a Roman, named Paccianus, who had a great reſemblance to Craſſus, he was made to mount a beautiful horſe, preceded by twelve falſe lictors. His guards rode on camels,

and had empty purſes ſuſpended from their girdles, while the bloody heads of ſeveral Roman ſoldiers carried on the points of lances ſerved as trophies. The march was cloſed by a company of proſtitutes, who by looſe ſongs ſtigmatized the memory of Craſſus. When this inſulting proceſſion was ended, Surenas produced, in preſence of the ſenate of Seleucia, a collection of laſcivious tales, known under the name of the Mileſian Fables, found among the baggage of a young Roman: "Behold!" ſaid the Parthian; "theſe are "the works which the Romans put into the "hands of their youth. You may thence judge "of the corruption of their manners, and what the "ſoldiers muſt be who have acquired ſuch a taſte "for debauchery." There is a great difference, indeed, between loving pleaſure, like Surenas, who could indulge in it on certain occaſions, and kindling up, by infamous means, dormant paſſions, which would ſoon become extinct.

Surenas did not long ſurvive this inſulting triumph. Either through jealouſy, or on account of ſome other political reaſons, Orodes cauſed him to be put to death, though he had been indebted to him for the throne. This prince, when the head of Craſſus was preſented to him, ordered melted gold to be poured into its mouth, as if to reproach him for the avarice which had induced him to come and diſturb the repoſe of the Parthians. Being no longer commanded by Surenas,

theſe people ſuſtained ſeveral checks from the Romans, who had entered Syria to revenge the death of Craſſus; but the latter, in their turn, experienced defeats from Pacorus, the ſon of Orodes, a young prince diſtinguiſhed by his juſtice, bravery, and clemency, and endowed with qualities which made his death to be much regretted by the people whom he had conquered. This event, which took place in a battle againſt the Romans, occaſioned great grief to his father Orodes, and was ſo much the more fatal to the Parthians, as the king, who had deſtined his crown to ſo virtuous a prince, placed it on the head of Phraates, the moſt unworthy of his children.

Phraates, 2963.

Orodes, who was ſo weak as to ſhare his throne with Phraates, had the misfortune to ſee one of his wives and his children fall under the murdering ſword of that monſter. The king having complained of this conduct, the ſon cauſed poiſon to be adminiſtered to his father; but, contrary to his expectation, it cured the old man of the dropſy. Phraates then cauſed him to be ſtrangled; and ſent to the grave with him a great number of his brothers, and his own ſon, whoſe merit he dreaded. This unnatural prince poſſeſſed great talents as a warrior; and it was, perhaps, on account of this quality that he was choſen by his unfortunate father, to aſſiſt him when hard preſſed by Ventidius, the lieutenant of Anthony. That general gained victories by which he obtained

triumphal honours at Rome. He was partly indebted for them to the jealouſy of Anthony, who, beholding with an evil eye the ſucceſs of his lieutenant, ſent him to triumph at Rome, in order that he might aſſume his place in the army. The glory he expected was attached, however, to the ſtandards of Phraates, who forced the Romans to make a long and difficult retreat, which coſt Anthony a great many men; but which was not diſgraceful, becauſe he diſplayed on that occaſion the talents of an able general.

The advantages which Phraates might have derived from his victory were interrupted by a conſpiracy of the Parthian nobility, who were diſcontented with their king. They expelled him, and ſubſtituted Tiridates in his ſtead; but Phraates returned, and diſplaced his rival; he, however, found himſelf ſo inſecure, that he requeſted the ſupport of Auguſtus, to whom Tiridates had applied alſo for aſſiſtance. Phraates purchaſed the neutrality of the emperor, by reſtoring to him the ſtandards and Roman eagles taken from Craſſus. Auguſtus claimed as much honour from the reſtitution of theſe trophies, as if he had gained a great victory. Tiridates obtained only an aſylum at Rome, where he ſaw four of the ſons of Phraates, whom that prince, according to ſome, ſent thither as hoſtages, and according to others, as victims to the policy of a mother-in-law. This woman, named Thermuſa, from being the concubine of

Phraates, became his lawful ſpouſe, and acquired an abſolute aſcendancy over her huſband. She perſuaded him to ſend his children to Rome, under the pretence that they would have an opportunity of receiving there a better education. The huſband and wife, as ſometimes happens, concealed from each other their real ſentiments. Phraates made them ſet out becauſe he was afraid of them; and Thermuſa was the cauſe of their exile, in order that ſhe might procure the crown to Phraates, her ſon. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw him of age ſhe poiſoned her huſband; but the Parthians, when they diſcovered the crime committed by his mother, expelled him from the throne. He was ſucceeded by Orodes II. of the race of the Arſacidæ, whoſe tyranny was ſo inſupportable, that they put him to death during an entertainment, and requeſted Auguſtus to give them for their ſovereign one of the children of Phraates. Vonones, whom he ſent to them for that purpoſe, being entirely Roman in his manners and dreſs, gave them great offenſe: "We will not obey," ſaid they, "a Roman ſlave;" and they offered the crown to Artabanus, the king of Media, who was alſo of the race of the Arſacidæ.

Artabanus. As Vonones had a party to ſupport him, he hazarded an engagement with Artabanus, and was defeated. He then ſolicited the protection of the Roman governors in the neighbourhood of Parthia; but being referred from the one to the

other, he wandered about with diſgrace, through Armenia and Syria, and was at laſt aſſaſſinated in Cilicia. The partiſans of Artabanus having become diſſatisfied with that prince, demanded from Tiberius another of the children of Arſaces. The emperor ſent them one, and procured for him a powerful diverſion from Mithridates and Pharaſmenes, two brothers, the kings of Iberia and Armenia, who kept Artabanus in occupation, while the Romans advanced into Parthia with the new monarch. The latter died of a diſeaſe, but Artabanus was defeated by Pharaſmenes, and loſt not only the Parthian ſceptre, but his paternal kingdom. We do not find that Pharaſmenes profited by his victory, ſince the Romans again raiſed to the throne Tiridates, the ancient rival of Phraates; but he maintained himſelf on it no better than he had done before. Artabanus was re-inſtated; was dethroned once more, and again reſtored by the aſſiſtance of Izates, the king of Adiabene, who effected a reconciliation between him and his ſubjects. The people did not repent of having ſuffered themſelves to be appeaſed. Artabanus, who had hitherto been an odious tyrant, became a good king, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his moderation and juſtice, and was much regretted when he died. He had a great many children; two of whom, Gotarzes and Bardanes, placed themſelves on the throne. They had already fought; and when they were about to proceed again to hoſtili-

ties, they were reconciled by a conſpiracy formed againſt them. Gotarzes was even ſo magnanimous as to reſign the crown to his brother, becauſe he believed him to be more capable of wearing it than himſelf; but he had cauſe to repent of his condeſcenſion. Bardanes, however, was ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent him from making any attempts againſt him. This prince extended his conqueſts as far as thoſe places which had been the theatres of the firſt victories of Alexander, where he erected trophies; but the pride inſpired by his ſucceſs having rendered him inſupportable to the principal nobility of his court, they put him to death during a hunting excurſion. Bardanes would have been a great king had he poſſeſſed the art of cauſing himſelf to be as much beloved by his ſubjects as he was dreaded by his enemies.

Vologeſes. After his death, his brother Gotarzes aſſumed the crown, which was diſputed with him by his brother Meherdates, a prince of the family of the Arſacidæ, whom the emperor Claudius ſupported with the Roman forces; but notwithſtanding this protection Meherdates was defeated. Gotarzes, though he ſpared his life, cauſed his ears to be cut off, in order to ſhew his contempt for the Romans. Vologeſes, his ſucceſſor, maintained a bloody war againſt them, on account of the crowns of Armenia and Syria, which he had given to Tiridates and Pacorus, two of his brothers. Corbulo deprived Tiridates of that of Armenia,

and placed it on the head of Tigranes, a Cappadocian. Vologeſes and Corbulo entertained ſo high an opinion of each other's talents, that they never ventured to come to an engagement. They made propoſals for peace, which were mutually accepted. Vologeſes conſigned to Nero the honour of crowning his brother Tiridates publicly at Rome, as if he had made him a preſent of that kingdom, which the Parthian poſſeſſed. By means of this deference good underſtanding was reſtored between the two empires.

This ſtate of tranquillity continued till Coſdroes, the third ſucceſſor of Vologeſes, brought againſt the Parthians the arms of Trajan, by driving from the throne of Armenia Exadares, who had been raiſed to it by that emperor. Trajan effected a diviſion among the Parthians, by exciting againſt Coſdroes a rival, named Parthanaſpates. The Romans entered the kingdom of Parthia, like an impetuous torrent, which Coſdroes ſuffered to run off, after having in vain attempted to check its courſe. Parthanaſpates had attached himſelf to Trajan like a ſhadow, and with him diſappeared. Coſdroes recovered his power, and transferred it to his ſon Vologeſes II. Being weakened by the Romans, this prince conſented to confine himſelf to a few provinces, and to ſubmit to the humiliation of doing homage. His ſon Vologeſes III. was deſirous of extricating himſelf from this abject ſtate; but the emperor Severus Coſdroes.

kept him under the yoke, and carried away his treaſures, his wives, and his children: Vologeſes himſelf eſcaped.

Theſe expeditions coſt a great deal of bloodſhed to the Romans, without any real advantage. As they had not ſufficient ſtrength to preſerve their conqueſts, the inhabitants, faithful to the name of the Arſacidæ, ſhook off the yoke as ſoon as the Roman armies had retired; ſo that their victories contributed only to weaken the Parthians, without extending their own empire. The inutility of their efforts did not, however, damp their ardour. A kind of emulation prevailed among the ſucceſſors of Trajan to decorate themſelves with the title of Parthicus, which Caracalla obtained, by a method unknown to his predeceſſors, and much more expeditious than any ever before employed.

Artabanus IV.

Vologeſes being ſucceeded by his brother Artabanus, Caracalla ſent ambaſſadors to demand his daughter in marriage. This requeſt was readily granted; and a little time after the emperor announced by another embaſſy that he was about to depart, in order to celebrate the ceremony at the court of Artabanus. The Parthian, with the flower of the nobility, went to meet him unarmed, as if they had been going to an entertainment; but Caracalla, with the eſcort by which he was attended, fell upon this peaceful company, and, having taken from them a great booty, was

authorized by the ſenate to aſſume the name of Parthicus. Artabanus eſcaped from this danger with great difficulty, ſwore irreconcilable hatred to the perfidious emperor, and inſpired into the whole nation the ſame ſpirit of vengeance. At that time its force was reſpectable; yet in one ſingle battle it was reduced to a ſtate of extreme weakneſs. This bloody action between the Parthians and the Romans continued two days. Both parties had ſuſpended their efforts on the approach of night. When they ſeparated, each ſhouted out victory, and lay upon their arms. The field of battle was already covered with the bodies of forty thouſand dead; but when Artabanus was requeſted to put an end to this long carnage, he replied: "We have only begun." Being determined to periſh with the laſt of the Parthians, or to exterminate the whole Roman army, as ſoon as it was light, on the morning of the third day, he cauſed the charge to be ſounded, upon which the Roman general ſent to inform him that Caracalla was aſſaſſinated, and that as the traitor had been puniſhed for his crime all diſſenſion between them was now at an end. The king of the Parthians liſtened to the voice of peace, and conſented to a treaty, the conditions of which were advantageous to his nation.

Theſe conditions, however, were not able to heal the deep wound given to the Parthian empire by this deſtructive battle, in which the braveſt

warriors of the nation had periſhed. The Perſians, who, after bearing the Macedonian yoke, had for five hundred years been ſubject to the Parthians, without being deſtroyed, took advantage of this opportunity to reſume the empire of the country which they inhabited. They aſſembled in great numbers, and fought ſeveral battles with the Parthians. After prodigies of valour diſplayed on both ſides, victory declared itſelf irrevocably for the Perſians. Artabanus was killed, and his army diſperſed. The Parthians, finding themſelves without chiefs, became incorporated, in their turn, with thoſe people who, we may ſay, had been incorporated with them, when their firſt king formed an empire of the Perſian provinces wreſted from the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Under theſe Perſians it was the ſame empire, but invigorated and revived.

PERSIANS.

Artaxares, after Chriſt, 230.

This change was effected by a man whoſe birth was attended with ſingular, if not fabulous, circumſtances. A ſhoemaker of the Caduceans, named Pabec, who was exceedingly well verſed in judicial aſtrology, happened once to give lodging in his houſe to an officer called Saſan. As he perceived by his art, that a perſon begotten by this ſtranger would one day attain to the higheſt honours, and would be the chief of a powerful family, he was exceedingly mortified that he had

neither a daughter, nor any other female relation, whom he might offer to him in marriage. Ambition at length ſurmounting his ſhame, he cauſed his wife to go to bed to Saſan, who begat on her Artaxares. When Artaxares came afterwards to be king, Pabec and Saſan each claimed him for a ſon; and when the ſtory became public, it was agreed, that he ſhould be ſtyled "the ſon of Pabec "of the ſeed of Saſan."

After being firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, he reſolved to unite under his dominion all thoſe places which had been formerly attached to the Perſian empire. As the greater part of them were in the hands of the Romans, Artaxares ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor, if we can give that title to four hundred picked men, of extraordinary ſize and ſtrength, dreſſed in the moſt ſuperb manner. Theſe meſſengers were taught, word by word, what they ought to ſay, and they ſtrictly conformed to their orders. When introduced to the emperor, they addreſſed him as follows: "The "great king Artaxares orders the Romans and "their prince to evacuate Syria, and all Aſia "Minor; and to reſtore to the Perſians the "whole country on this ſide the Ægean ſea and "the Pontus Euxinus, as it was the property of "their anceſtors." This harangue was not agreeable to Severus. As the ambaſſadors were ſtrong and robuſt, he deſtined them to cultivate lands which he aſſigned to them in Phrygia; and he

cauſed them to be ſtripped of their rich dreſs, in order that he might give them one more agreeable to their new ſtate. This bravado of Artaxares was not attended with that ſucceſs which he expected; and notwithſtanding his inſulting threat, he was obliged to act on the defenſive. We muſt not, however, believe by the triumph of Severus at Rome, and the proud titles of Parthicus and Perſicus which he aſſumed, that his ſucceſs was of great importance. Artaxares recovered all the provinces which had been taken from him at the commencement of the expedition; and died, after a glorious reign of twelve years, admired and regretted.

Sapor, 242. His ſon Sapor ſaw his ſtates invaded by the emperor Gordian the younger. They were reſtored to him by Philip; but he afterwards regretted that he had done ſo, and retook them. Sapor was again attacked by the emperor Valerian, and taken priſoner. The emperor, after having made him march in an ignominous manner at the head of his army, and having ſometimes uſed him as a ſtep to get on horſeback, by placing his foot on his neck, cauſed him, it is ſaid, to be flayed alive. This cruelty is credible of a man who ordered his priſoners to be thrown into the hollow parts of the highways to render them level, and to facilitate the paſſage of his carriages. We are told that, notwithſtanding this inſulting barbarity, Aurelian, the ſucceſſor of Valerian, gave his daughter

to Sapor in marriage. But every thing may be accommodated among princes. In the train of this princeſs there were two Greek phyſicians, who carried the writings of Hippocrates into the Eaſt. Under Sapor lived Manes, who wiſhed to adapt to the Chriſtian religion the idea of two principles, to explain the origin of good and evil.

Hormiſdas, the ſon of Sapor, is known only by his diſgraceful conduct, in not aſſiſting Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, and in having ſuffered her to be dragged in triumph and captivity by Aurelian. His ſon, Varanes I. reigned only a year. The emperor Probus made the ſame bravadoes to his ſucceſſor, Varanes II. as Artaxares had made to Severus. He replied to the ambaſſador, who came to offer him preſents, and to ſolicit for peace: "Every thing that your maſter has is mine, and I "can take poſſeſſion of it when I pleaſe." He, indeed, did ſo; but he thought proper abandon his conqueſts, which Varanes recovered. His ſon, Varanes III. was ſucceeded by Narſes. This prince beat the emperor Galerius, who had not been ſufficiently on his guard. Narſes fell into the ſame error, and was beaten in his turn. His ſucceſſor, Hormiſdas II. left no reſource for the monarchy but the very ambiguous hope ariſing from the pregnancy of his wife. The nobility having aſked the magi what the child would be, they confidently replied, a ſon. Hormiſdas, 273.

This ſon was Sapor II. He was educated with Sapor II. 308.

great care, and, as is believed, in the chriſtian religion, which he afterwards abjured. It is very remarkable, that one of the greateſt wars ever carried on by the Perſians was between two apoſtates and perſecutors of religion, Sapor and Julian. The latter made an attack at an improper time, and ſuffered for his raſhneſs, as Anthony had done before, and almoſt in the ſame country. He gave his confidence to a traitor, who led him along roads where his army was expoſed to great diſaſters; but being more unfortunate than Anthony, he blindly followed perfidious advice, which deprived him of every reſource. He might have cauſed his fleet, which was laden with proviſions, to accompany him on the Tigris; but ſome one perſuaded him that ſuch a circuitous march would lead him too far from the enemy, who would thus have time to fortify themſelves; that it would be much better to advance ſtraight towards them, which could be done in two or three days; that the ſoldiers, without being fatigued, might carry the proviſions neceſſary for this ſhort expedition; and that to prevent his army being weakened, by leaving a guard to protect his fleet, it would be proper to burn it. Julian, whoſe judgement and prudence have been juſtly extolled, ſhewed a deficiency of both on this important occaſion. While his fleet was in flames, he had convincing proofs that he had been deceived; but, inſtead of retreating, as he might have done, he followed the

dangerous route pointed out to him, and falling in with the Perſians was defeated and killed. Jovian, his ſucceſſor, immediately entered into a treaty with Sapor, and in exchange for money received peace and proviſions.

Sapor had four ſons, one of whom diſpleaſed him, and another had retired to the Romans. To a third he had given a tent of camels' ſkins, enriched with gold, and painted in a beautiful manner: "What do you think of it?" ſaid he to his ſon. "It is exceedingly beautiful," replied he; "but when I am king, I ſhall have one made of "the ſkins of men." By this ſpeech he was deprived of the crown. His father, diſguſted with his anſwer, placed on the throne his fourth ſon, Sapor III. who, as well as Varanes IV. lived on peaceable terms with the Romans. Artaxerxes.

Iſdigertes was ſo intimately connected with Arcadius, the emperor of the Weſt, that this prince at his death appointed him the protector of his ſon, Theodoſius II. and of the empire. The Perſian ſent to ſuperintend the education of his friend's ſon the eunuch Antiochus, a man of great prudence and experience, who was, no doubt, a chriſtian, for there were a great many of that perſuaſion at the court of Iſdigertes, who is believed to have been one himſelf. Under his ſucceſſor, Varanes V. owing to the indiſcreet zeal of a chriſtian, who ſet fire to a Perſian temple, war with the Romans was recommenced. Iſdigertes, 401.

troops of the Perſian monarch were commanded by a general named Narſes, who ſent a challenge, it is ſaid, to the Roman general, deſiring him to fix a day when the armies ſhould meet in the field of battle: "The Romans," replied the latter, "fight when they think proper, and not when "their enemies find it moſt convenient for themſelves." Varanes called in to his aſſiſtance the Saracens, a people who then appeared in theſe countries for the firſt time. Under this prince the chriſtian religion obtained favour in Perſia, by the beneficent charity of Acaſes, the biſhop of Amida. As the Romans had crowded into that city ſeven thouſand Perſian priſoners, without providing for their ſubſiſtence, the biſhop of Amida, and his clergy, ſold the gold and ſilver veſſels of the church; fed the priſoners with the produce, during the whole war; and, when peace was concluded, gave them money to enable them to return. Varanes invited this charitable biſhop to his court; received him with the greateſt teſtimonies of reſpect; and on his account granted many indulgences to the chriſtians.

Peroſes, 558.

Under Peroſes the Huns became known in the empire. Theſe people lived to the north of Perſia; and were not deſtitute of civilization, as they had cities, and a certain form of government. Peroſes penetrated into their country; but he did not return from it with the ſame eaſe that he entered it. He was ſurrounded by the inhabitants,

and reduced to the neceſſity of promiſing never to moleſt them in future, and to do homage to their king. The Perſian monarch was deſirous to find out ſome means, by which he might perform this humiliating act without debaſing himſelf. The magi freed him from his embarraſſment by bidding him enter the tent of the king of the Huns at ſun-riſe; "and thus," ſaid they, "while you "proſtrate yourſelf before that luminary, the "king will conceive it to be an act of ſubmiſſion "to him." Peroſes executed the treaty with the ſame good faith as he performed the ceremony of rendering homage. He attempted to ſurprize the Huns; but was defeated, and killed in the action.

The weak Valens, who ſucceeded, not being able to free himſelf from the tribute which the Huns had impoſed on Perſia, died of grief. Cavades, his ſucceſſor, undertook to efface this ſhame, and his attempts were fortunate, but his victories rendered him haugthy and enterprizing, even in his own kingdom, the conſtitution of which he was deſirous to change. Nothing but the moſt manifeſt folly could have induced him to order, by an edict, that no woman of his empire ſhould refuſe her favours to any man who might aſk them. This act alone deſerved the treatment which he experienced from the great. They placed him in a ſtate of confinement, and gave the crown to one of his relations, named Zambades. Cavades, 492.

The firſt care of the new king was to convoke a

general assembly of the nobility, to decide the fate of Cavades. The people had declared the person of the monarch sacred, yet the sentiments of the assembly were divided in regard to the conduct of Gusanastades, one of the principal nobility, who drawing from his pocket a small knife, which he generally used for pairing his nails, said: "This "knife, properly employed, would render us a "service which cannot be performed by twenty "thousand, if we suffer the present opportunity "to escape." But the cruel policy of Gusanastades did not prevail. It was unanimously determined that Cavades, as he had forfeited his authority by the odious use he made of it, should be confined in prison during the remainder of his life, and that Zambades should reign in his stead. This prince possessed all those qualities which are requisite to sustain the weight of a crown with glory. Being a prudent man, of a mild disposition, and a friend to good order, he thought of nothing but rendering his people happy.

As the queen had not been shut up with Cavanades, this princess, the only person who did not abandon him in his misfortune, carried him whatever he stood in need of, but without obtaining permission to see him. The officer by whom he was guarded having conceived a passion for her, gave her leave to write to her husband. She then requested that she might be allowed to visit him; but the jailor to this favour

attached certain conditions. The queen informed her husband, who desired her to flatter a passion which might be of so much utility to them both. She, at last, obtained an interview, in which Cavades learned that a faithful friend, named Sesoses, had in readiness a body of guards, who, as soon as he should make his escape, would accompany him wherever he might think proper. In consequence of this precaution, the necessary measures being concerted, the queen dressed herself in the king's clothes, and the latter escaped in the dress of a female. He took refuge with the king of the Huns, who received him with great friendship, gave him his daughter in marriage, and placed an army at his disposal. The queen, who remained a prisoner instead of her husband, and whose conduct is entitled, at least, to admiration, was treated rather with severity than clemency.

Cavades, who during his retirement among the Huns had kept up a correspondence with some of the Persian nobility, found means to return to his own kingdom. He promised the government of provinces to those who should first come and render him homage. As governments were generally continued in families, this promise occasioned a kind of division, because each endeavoured to obtain the preference. This emulation soon swelled the number of his partisans, by whose assistance he obtained complete success, and entered his capital in triumph. Cavades caused Zambades to

be deprived of ſight, put to death Guſanaſtades, and created Seſoſes lieutenant-general of his kingdom.

The faction who dethroned Cavades had no reaſon to repent that they did not carry their cruelty ſo far as to put him to death. On the contrary, they had cauſe to rejoice that they preſerved the life of a prince, who reſtored to the kingdom of Perſia its ancient ſplendour. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that he began his victories by an act of injuſtice. The king of the Huns, his father-in-law, who had advanced large ſums of money to enable him to re-eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, demanded payment. As the emperor Anaſtaſius poſſeſſed great riches, the king of Perſia requeſted from him a loan, and on his refuſal, declared war againſt him, or rather began it very abruptly by the ſiege of Amida, a very opulent city. It made a long defenſe; but Cavades at length took it, and acquired immenſe booty. This prince having allowed his ſoldiers to maſſacre a great many of the inhabitants, one of them had the boldneſs to repreſent to him that it was unworthy of a hero to behave with cruelty to men who no longer made reſiſtance: "Why," ſaid the king, in a paſſion, "did you dare to defend yourſelf againſt "me?" "Becauſe God," replied the Amidean, "was deſirous that you ſhould be indebted for "the capture of Amida, not to your own will, "but to your valour." This compliment ap-

peaſed the king; he put an end to the carnage; and ſome time after reſtored to the city its privileges, and cauſed its walls and public buildings to be repaired.

It appears that Cavades was not naturally wicked; and that his firſt errors were owing rather to the effervescence of youth, than to the depravity of his character. In his life we find one action, reſpecting which no certain opinion can be formed. Seſoſes, to whom he was indebted for his life, having been either guilty of ſome crime, or only ſuſpected, Cavades ſuffered him to be accuſed, tried, and condemned, and even to be put to death. It is true, indeed, that he ſhed tears for his fate; and that he expreſſed the deepeſt regret for having been obliged to abandon to the ſeverity of the law a man to whom he was under ſo great obligations. The principal charge againſt Seſoſes was, that he had cauſed the body of his wife to be interred, in contempt of the Perſian religion, which ordered that the dead ſhould be expoſed to the birds; but we find that about this period, Cavades, having thought proper to make the emperor of the Eaſt adopt one of his ſons, for whom he deſtined the crown, Seſoſes oppoſed this meaſure. As Seſoſes, though a ſubject, had become ſo powerful as to defeat a project of ſuch importance to his maſter, this ſuppoſed crime was much rather the cauſe of his death than the violation of a religious rite. In

that caſe, the tears of Cavades were the tears of an hypocrite: gratitude ſeldom induces princes to forgive an attempt againſt their power.

This plan of Cavades was formed in conſequence of the ſtate of the Eaſtern empire, attacked on all ſides by an inundation of barbarians, and badly defended by the frontier provinces, the inhabitants of which often joined the invaders. Cavades wiſhed to make the emperor ſenſible, that adoption would lay his ſon under the obligation of defending the empire as his own property; and that by theſe means he would procure for himſelf the moſt powerful ſupport; but the latter was afraid that this adoption, inſtead of ſecuring the unity of the empire, would tend to promote diviſion, and to weaken it, on account of the right which the adopted prince might claim over ſome of the provinces, under a pretence that he had ſaved them from invaſion. This affair of adoption, however, was ſo far advanced, that nothing more was neceſſary than the ceremony; but it miſcarried at the very moment when about to be concluded. The Perſian wiſhed that it might be performed in the Roman manner, in order to give it all the validity poſſible; and the Romans were deſirous of employing the method of the barbarians, with a view, no doubt, to leave ſome formal deficiencies, which, in caſe of neceſſity, might render it of no effect. The two parties could never come to an agreement on this point; which,

after the difficulties ſurmounted in ſuch a treaty, ſeems to be a mere trifle. The Romans had ſuffered it to proceed ſo far to gain time; but they were well acquainted with the means of rendering it abortive. Cavades, who was highly diſpleaſed on this account, recommenced the war, which he carried on ſome time, and then ſuffered himſelf to be appeaſed by a large ſum of money. This was the moſt ſucceſsful expedient which he employed againſt the Eaſtern empire, and he taught it to his ſon Choſroes, by whom it was much practiſed.

This prince was not the eldeſt ſon; but being of a haughty, warlike diſpoſition, always occupied with great deſigns, which he conceived and executed with equal facility, he had obtained the favour of his father, who by his will appointed him his ſucceſſor, to the prejudice of Caoſes, his eldeſt. This will was confirmed by the nation; and Choſroes was acknowledged monarch of Perſia. Under his reign there are reckoned to have been no leſs than five treaties with the Eaſtern empire, the alternate progreſs of which was as follows: Choſroes declared war; carried it on at firſt with vigour, and acquired great booty. He afterwards kept on the defenſive; and when he ſaw the empire haraſſed by other invaders, he offered it peace, by which means he obtained large ſums of money. With this contribution he recruited and increaſed his armies, and renewed hoſtilities, without being at much trouble to give

Choſroes, 523.

a colour of juſtice to his pretences. If he experienced checks, his treaſures enabled him to excite enemies to the empire, on ſome of its moſt remote frontiers. It was then neceſſary for it to diminiſh its means of defenſe and attack in Perſia. Choſroes again offered peace, the conditions of which were ſtill money. He carried his effrontery, we may ſay, ſo far as to ſend to Juſtinian to demand a ſhare of the booty which he had ſuffered him to acquire: "Had I not left you "at peace," ſaid he, "your general Beliſarius "would not have gained ſo many victories in "Africa; conſequently, I am entitled to a part of "the ſpoil." Juſtinian ſmiled; but he thought it would be improper to diſmiſs the ambaſſadors without giving them a handſome ſum.

Such is the military life of Choſroes. It thence follows, that during a long reign he never ceaſed to haraſs his own ſubjects, as well as thoſe of his neighbours. He, however, affected great compaſſion for the people, who experienced the misfortunes of war. The Roman ambaſſadors having explained to him, in a very pathetic manner, at a public audience, theſe calamities, he ſhed tears. They were ſhed to encourage the Perſians, who beheld this ſenſibility, to aſſiſt him with vigour againſt Juſtinian, by whom he pretended to be attacked. In a word, it would be difficult to determine who was the moſt criminal. If Juſtinian juſtly reproached Choſroes for having in-

vited the Goths to invade the empire, and for having favoured their devaſtation, the latter proved, by authentic letters, that the emperor did not ceaſe to inſtigate the Huns and the Saracens againſt Perſia. The neighbouring petty kings, ſuch as that of the Lazi, might therefore have curſed theſe great empires, which involved them, againſt their will, in their quarrels, to which they became victims. There is this difference between Juſtinian and Choſroes, that the Roman carried on war only by his lieutenants, while the Perſian always appeared at the head of his armies; that he was an able general, brave, intrepid, and obſtinate; and that he never ſuffered his lieutenants to undertake any thing except what he could not do himſelf.

After a conſpiracy in the beginning of his reign, which he puniſhed with great ſeverity, Choſroes experienced no more uneaſineſs from the great men of his kingdom. The conſpirators accuſed him of ſeverity, capriciouſneſs, deſpotiſm, and almoſt the ſame faults as thoſe which had cauſed his father Cavades to be confined; and the leaſt they propoſed was to dethrone him in the like manner. They wiſhed to ſubſtitute in his place one of his brothers named Zames; but this prince had loſt the ſight of an eye, and the Perſians would never ſuffer in their monarchs the leaſt bodily imperfection. A faction can always find means to remove the prejudices of the people againſt the unworthy,

or even deteſted object, to whoſe government it wiſhes to ſubject them. It was determined, therefore, that the throne ſhould not be occupied by Zames, but by an infant ſon, to whom he ſhould be tutor and counſellor, on condition that he himſelf would conſent to be guided by the advice of the conſpirators; that is to ſay, they wiſhed to give the people a multitude of kings inſtead of one. Choſroes, who, if he was fond of money, knew alſo how to employ it, kept ſpies among the conſpirators to give him daily notice of every thing that took place. He ſuffered them to carry on their plans unmoleſted, to acquire partiſans, and to increaſe their number, that he might be able to diſtinguiſh his friends from his enemies; and when he ſaw them ready to carry their deſigns into execution, he cauſed them all to be ſeized, and put to death at the ſame time. Young Cavades alone eſcaped, becauſe he was educated at a diſtance from the court by a virtuous old man, who abhorred ſhedding the blood of a child. This circumſtance was diſcloſed ſome years after by the old man's ſon, who was afraid that if his father's diſobedience ſhould be made known to others he might loſe the government, which by the puniſhment of his father would become vacant. Young Cavades was at this time in ſafety. Choſroes died of grief after the loſs of a battle, which left his kingdom expoſed to the Romans, who took up their winter quarters in it. This gave great un-

caſineſs to the old monarch, who had been accuſtomed to take up his among his enemies. He was in great danger of being made priſoner on this occaſion, and, therefore, he expreſsly recommended to his ſon never to expoſe his perſon in a general action againk the Romans.

His ſon Hormiſdas appears as an object worthy of indignation and of pity, on account of the faults which he committed. He was ſo unfortunate as not to love his people, and to believe fortune-tellers, who aſſured him that whatever he might do his reign would be happy. He gave looſe reins, therefore, to his paſſions; became cruel, haughty, and obſtinate; and offended his ſubjects in every poſſible manner without the leaſt dread. But this fatal ſecurity induced him to attempt every thing. He had an excellent general named Varamus; but after gaining ſome advantages, he experienced a defeat. Hormiſdas, inſtead of pitying him, and reviving his courage, ſent him a female dreſs, with an inſulting letter. Varamus returned an anſwer, written in the ſame ſtyle, as if he had been addreſſing a female ſlave, and at the ſame time took meaſures for his own defenſe. He gained the affection of his army, and ſeduced a part of that which the king ſent againſt him. The monarch retired to his capital; the principal cities revolted; and the inhabitants plundered, on all ſides, the royal palaces. The priſons were opened, and among thoſe who broke their chains was a prince Hormiſdas.

of the blood royal named Bindoes, whom Hormiſdas, for a very trifling cauſe, had loaded with irons. This prince repaired to the army which had not joined the ſtandards of Varamus, and was acknowledged its chief. He advanced at its head towards Cteſiphon, which he entered without difficulty, and proceeded to the palace, where he found Hormiſdas ſeated on his throne, with all the appendages of his dignity. "What has brought "you hither?" ſaid Hormiſdas to him; "and "how did you eſcape from priſon?" Bindoes made no other reply than to reproach him in the moſt inſulting language. "Let him be arreſted," cried Hormiſdas.

Indignation here gave place to pity. The monarch's guards remained as if thunder-ſtruck; and Bindoes, emboldened by this inactivity, ruſhed upon the king, tore the crown from his head, and cauſed him to be dragged to priſon. Choſroes, the ſon of Hormiſdas, though it was well known that he had no great attachment to his father, appeared to be under ſome fear; but Bindoes encouraged him by his promiſes. Hormiſdas from his priſon requeſted that he might be heard in an aſſembly of the nation. He was accordingly brought into the preſence of his ſubjects, and having pleaded his own cauſe with all the energy of misfortune, ſeemed to have made ſome impreſſion on the audience. Bindoes made a long and inſulting anſwer to his ſpeech, and concluded by re-

preſenting to thoſe who compoſed the tribunal, what they might expect if they ſhould reſtore the perſon whom they had ventured to ſummon before them. This argument was concluſive. The unfortunate monarch being carried back to his dungeon, a red-hot iron was drawn over his eyes, to render him incapable of ever remounting the throne. He had requeſted that his ſon Choſroes, whoſe bad qualities he detailed, might not be appointed his ſucceſſor, but his other ſon Hormiſdas, who being a mild prince would render his people happy. The recommendation of thoſe under miſfortune is often a ſentence of proſcription. Hormiſdas was put to death, together with his mother, and Choſroes was placed on the throne. His father, notwithſtanding his blindneſs, gave him great uneaſineſs; and his reproaches, which he was not ſo prudent as to confine within the walls of his priſon, were ſo galling to this unnatural ſon, that he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated.

Varamus had taken no part in theſe changes, but remained at the head of his army, reſolved not to labour for another. Choſroes ſent him flattering letters, filled with promiſes, and accompanied with valuable preſents. Varamus, however, rejected them all, and in his anſwer aſſumed the title of the Scourge of Tyrants. He ordered Choſroes to lay aſide the ſceptre which he had uſurped; and gave him to underſtand, that his object in continuing the war was to avenge his

Choſroes II. 589.

king, and to puniſh a parricide. On account of this motive he acquired many partiſans. The two rivals met in the field, and Choſroes was ſo completely defeated, that he with difficulty eſcaped by a circuitous route to one of the Roman advanced poſts on the frontiers, where he met with a favourable reception. Varamus took poſſeſſion of Cteſiphon, and cauſed Bindoes to be thrown into priſon as the author of the laſt revolution. At the ſame time, he did not ſpare his accomplices; but he puniſhed them without cruelty. He then ventured to aſſume, not the title of king, but the badges of that dignity, which diſpleaſed the nobility ſo much, that a plot was formed againſt him. Bindoes was releaſed from priſon, and the conſpirators attacked Varamus in his palace during the night; but he defended himſelf with great bravery. Several of the nobility periſhed in the conflict, and ſome of them were condemned afterwards to be trod to death by elephants. Bindoes made his eſcape, and retired to Media, where he endeavoured to raiſe troops to ſecond the efforts of Choſroes.

This fugitive found a powerful protector in the emperor Mauritius, who placed at his diſpoſal all the troops of the empire on that frontier, under the command of Narſes, the ableſt of his generals. Varamus experienced as complete a defeat as Choſroes, and like him fled almoſt alone, and ſought ſhelter from a barbarous prince to the

north of Perſia. He lived there ſome time, and was treated with a conſiderable degree of reſpect; but the fear of being attacked by Chôſroes determined the barbarian to poiſon his hoſt. Choſroes had amuſed the people of the capital by ſpectacles and entertainments, when he ornamented his forehead with the bloody diadem of his father. He employed the ſame policy to make the people forget the mild government of Varamus; but he ſpared none of the great from whom he thought he had any thing to fear, nor even thoſe who had been favôurable to him.

In his adverſity he had ſhewn ſo much reſpect for the chriſtian religion, as gave reaſon to believe that he preferred it to his own. He aſſumed alſo the Roman dreſs, ſpoke the Roman language, and adopted the Roman manners, in order, no doubt, to preſerve the good-will of the emperor Mauritius; but when he had no longer need of it, he altered his conduct. Choſroes II. is accounted one of the great perſecutors of the chriſtians. In regard to the Romans, that is to ſay, the ſubjects of the empire of Conſtantinople, the emperors of which always retained the title of Roman emperors though they were Greeks, Choſroes being reeſtabliſhed by their aſſiſtance, behaved to them with a great deal of cool indifference. Narſes, when he took leave of him before he quitted his ſtates, having repreſented to him how much he was bound not to forget the ſervices of the em-

peror Mauritius, and the Romans, of whom this general ſpoke as if they had been the maſters of the world, he replied modeſtly, that he would never forget their ſervices; but he gave him to underſtand, that he did not think the Roman power, of which Narſes had drawn a magnificent picture, was ſo formidable as he repreſented it. At the ſame time, he ſtated the reaſons which induced him to entertain this opinion, and foretold ſo exactly the decline and ſubverſion of the empire, that the Greek hiſtorians have quoted him as a great aſtrologer; but he was only a man of wiſdom and penetration, who being thoroughly acquainted with the deſtructive cauſes inherent in that empire, was able, by the ſtrength of his judgement, to trace out the ſtages of its weakneſs, and to foreſee its laſt cataſtrophe. A faint ſenſe of ſhame prevented him from participating in the ſpoils of the empire as long as his benefactor lived, though he ſhewed a deſire of obtaining his ſhare; but the death of Mauritius, who was aſſaſſinated, afforded him an opportunity of carrying his arms into the empire, under the pretence of avenging the death of his friend. It evidently appears, however, that this was not the real cauſe; ſince, inſtead of joining the Roman generals, and particularly Narſes, who had declared againſt Phocas, the murderer of Mauritius, he attacked them all without diſtinction.

One cannot help being aſtoniſhed at the extent

of the conqueſts of Choſroes, and the ſhortneſs of the time in which they were acquired and loſt. In the ſixteenth year of his reign he laid under contribution all the flat country on the Roman frontiers. Next year he took poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes. In the eighteenth he plundered Meſopotamia and Syria. In the nineteenth he paſſed the Euphrates, carried deſolation throughout the reſt of Syria, which he had before ſpared, and through Paleſtine and Phœnicia. The twentieth is remarkable on account of the ravage of Cappadocia and Armenia, and the entire defeat of a Roman army, which opened for him Galatia and Paphlagonia, as far as Chalcedon. Two years after Choſroes took Apamea and Edeſſa, blockaded Antioch, and gained ſo complete a victory, that ſcarcely any of the conquered were left to mourn for the dead. The following year he took Cæſarea, and carried away a great number of Syrian captives. In the twenty-fifth year he made himſelf maſter of Damaſcus, and diſmiſſed in an ignominious manner, without an anſwer, the ambaſſadors ſent to him by the emperor Heraclius to demand peace. In the twenty-ſixth he conquered Judea; took and plundered the city of Jeruſalem; carried to Perſia the patriarch, with the real croſs; and ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians to the Jews of his ſtates, who put them all to death.

The mind is haraſſed with this bloody chronology, yet it remains to follow Choſroes to Upper

and Lower Egypt, which he conquered; thus uniting the monarchy of Africa to that of Aſia—a project vainly attempted by the moſt illuſtrious of his anceſtors. He then returned to attack the empire, and ſent an arrogant anſwer to Heraclius, who again ſued for peace. "I will grant it," ſaid he, "when you and your ſubjects ſhall abjure the "crucified deity, and embrace the religion of the "Perſians." Heraclius, freed from his other wars, marched in perſon againſt Choſroes, defeated him, and ſtill offered him peace, which was rejected with contempt. But the Perſian was not able to maintain his haughtineſs; he fled, after being again beat in a pitched battle by the Romans, and left fifty thouſand priſoners, whom Heraclius generouſly ſet at liberty. The emperor gained afterwards, againſt two Perſian generals, ſo complete a victory, that the conqueror was obliged to releaſe a priſoner to carry an account of their defeat to his countrymen.

The character of Choſroes, already too cruel, was rendered ſtill worſe by theſe defeats; the nobility, the people, the ſoldiers, and all thoſe around him, were made reſponſible for his misfortunes. An inſolent letter had been the cauſe of the dreadful cataſtrophe which befel his father Hormiſdas: and an imprudent letter precipitated the ſon into a ſituation no leſs terrible. As he entertained an ill-founded ſuſpicion againſt Sarbas, one of his generals, he wrote to another, without farther ex-

amination, to arreſt his colleague, and to put him to death. This letter having fallen into the hands of the Romans, they ſent it to the condemned victim. Sarbas, to his own name, added thoſe of four hundred officers of diſtinction, who by theſe means appeared, like him, deſtined to puniſhment. This letter, thus falſified, being made known to the army, created a great number of malcontents, of whom Sarbas formed a conſiderable body, and retired with them to one of the Roman camps. The conduct of Choſroes, on this occaſion, is the leſs excuſable, as he had need, at that time, of the perfect obedience of his ſubjects, as well as the concurrence of his troops, to carry into execution the project he had formed of giving the crown to Merdaſas, the youngeſt of his ſons, to the prejudice of Siroes, the eldeſt. The latter being informed of his father's deſign, raiſed the ſtandard of revolt. Heraclius ſet at liberty the Perſian priſoners, of whom he had a great number, on condition that they would join Siroes, who thus ſoon found himſelf at the head of a ſtrong army to oppoſe his father. Choſroes, who was weakened by age, fatigue, and chagrin, ſuffered himſelf to be taken without any reſiſtance, and was depoſed after a reign of thirty years.

But this was not the end of his misfortunes. Siroes, 626.
"Providence," according to the expreſſion of a certain poet, "had need to make an expiation for "the ſucceſs granted to the parricide Choſroes."

The firſt care of the ſon was to put chains around his legs, arms, and neck. He then cauſed him to be ſhut up in a dungeon, which was left open to all thoſe who could find pleaſure in the ſpectacle of misfortune. "How do you find yourſelf?" ſaid the mercileſs ſpectators—"What do you "think of the bitter cup, of which you made "whole nations taſte? It is juſt that you ſhould "be hurled from the throne into a dungeon, "ſince you peopled the priſons, while you en-"joyed it." He languiſhed five days in this ſtate, having no other nouriſhment than bread and water; at the end of which time his favourite ſon was put to death in his preſence. Siroes then gave orders, that the body of his father ſhould be pierced with arrows, and that he ſhould be left in that ſtate to expire. This cruel ſon did not long enjoy the diadem tinged with the blood of his father, as he died in the courſe of the year.

Iſdigertes II. 630. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ardeſer; but Sarbas, who commanded the army, pretending that he had been improperly raiſed to the throne, as the troops were not conſulted, cauſed the young prince to be put to death, and aſſumed the diadem himſelf. The nobility, diſpleaſed to ſee one of their own body become their maſter, reſolved to reſtore the crown to the royal family. They, therefore, got rid of Sarbas, and proclaimed as king Iſdigertes II. the ſon of a brother of Siroes, who had eſcaped from being maſſacred. Hiſtorians

are not agreed in regard to the character of this monarch. Some repreſent him as an effeminate prince, who ſlumbered in the arms of pleaſure, and left his kingdom a prey to the Saracens. Others ſay, that he defended his country with intrepidity, until the Perſians, haraſſed with warfare and battles, received among them the new conquerors. As the Medes had incorporated themſelves with the Perſians; the Perſians with the Parthians; and the Parthians again with the Perſians; theſe modern Perſians ſuffered to be incorporated among them the Saracens, the followers of the religion of Mahomet, which was ſubſtituted for that of the magi. This change took place about the year 640. Hiſtorians are as much divided reſpecting the fate of Iſdigertes, as reſpecting his character. Thoſe who aſſign to him bravery and magnanimity, make him to have been killed in a battle. Thoſe who refuſe him theſe qualities pretend, that being fonder of repoſe than of glory, he reſigned his diadem to the Saracens, on condition that they would ſuffer him to live at peace in a ſmall province, where he died.

We are indebted to the oriental writers for having collected anecdotes, witty ſayings, ingenious replies, and other agreeable traits, reſpecting the Perſians, which were either neglected by, or unknown to, the Greeks. Their variety will relieve the mind after the tireſome monotony of wars, and form a pleaſing contraſt to the atrocities too

common in this part of ancient hiſtory. The reader will ſometimes have occaſion to be aſtoniſhed at the difference of the opinions entertained in regard to the ſame perſon.

Ardeſchir, the ſame as Artaxares, whom the Greeks make to be the ſon of the wife of a ſhoemaker, was born, according to the oriental authors, of a princeſs of the royal blood. He never carried on war, but when indiſpenſably neceſſary. He was a benefactor to his people; divided them into different claſſes, according to their profeſſions; eſtabliſhed magiſtrates to govern them, as well as maſters to inſtruct them; and diminiſhed the uſe of capital puniſhment. "We ought never," ſaid he, "to employ the ſword, except when milder "puniſhment is ineffectual." He wrote a book entitled, Rules for living happy. In this work he laid down maxims the practice of which is neceſſary to all men, from the monarch to the meaneſt artificer. One of his ſucceſſors iſſued an order that every family ſhould have a copy of it.

Sapor I. under the name of Schabour, is juſtified by the orientals for the cruelty which the Greeks impute to him in regard to Valerian. They aſcribe to him mild virtues, which ſeem incompatible with the order he is ſaid to have given, that this emperor ſhould be flayed alive. It is related of Hormouz, named Hormiſdas, that the governor of one of his provinces, ſituated towards India, ſent an expreſs to inform him that

he might have an opportunity of purchaſing ſome beautiful diamonds for a hundred thouſand pieces of gold. The king refuſed; but the governor ſent a ſecond expreſs to tell him that he could gain by the bargain a hundred per cent. "Neither "a hundred nor a thouſand per cent," replied Hormouz, "can tempt me. If I undertake the "buſineſs of merchant, who will perform that of "king? What will become of the Perſian mer- "chants, if I employ my treaſures to deprive "them of that gain which they ought to ac- "quire?" Varanes, called Varharanes, who cauſed Mani, or Manes, to be flayed alive for his religious opinions, ſaid: "No definition can be given "of humanity, as it comprehends all the virtues." Schabour or Sapor II. carried on a cruel perſecution againſt the Arabs. He cauſed a great number of them to be put to death; and the ſhoulder-bones of all who were able to bear arms to be broken. An Arab, who was ſent to him as a deputy to beg that he would put an end to this cruelty, having aſked him the reaſon of it, he replied: "It is becauſe I have been told by my "aſtrologers that your nation will give birth to "a perſon who will one day overturn the Perſian "monarchy." "You either believe it," returned the Arab, "or you do not believe it. If you do "not believe it, why this barbarity? And if you "believe it, would it not be prudent to behave "with a little more mildneſs towards people who

" you think will be one day the maſters of your " ſubjects?" The juſtneſs of this reaſoning induced the monarch to change his conduct. Baharam, or Varanes V. being deprived of the ſceptre by his father, put his rival, named Reſra, to a proof, which the latter durſt not hazard. Being on the eve of coming to a battle, Baharam ſaid: " In order to ſpare the effuſion of blood, let the " crown be placed between two hungry lions; " and let it belong to him who ſhall have the " boldneſs to go and take it." Baharam offered Reſra the honour of making the firſt attempt. Reſra replied: " As it is already in my poſſeſſion, " it is you who ought to endeavour to take it." Baharam, without farther heſitation, killed the two lions, and carried off the crown, which Reſra no longer diſputed. Under Baharam two palaces were built with ſo much art, that, if a ſingle ſtone had been taken from either of them, it would have tumbled down. The architect, when he died, carried this ſecret along with him.

The order iſſued by Cobad, or Cavades, to all the women in his kingdom not to refuſe their favours to any man who demanded them, was conſidered as an act of madneſs. It was a piece of religious folly, inſpired by Mazdek, the diſciple of Manes, who could find no better means to make the Perſians abandon their taſte for women and riches, than to render both common. Cobad adopted his ſyſtem more through libertiniſm, no-

doubt, than perſuaſion. His ſon Choſroes extirpated this new ſect, by ſubjecting the founder of it, together with his chief diſciples, to the puniſhment of death. "It is neither thee nor thine," ſaid he to him, "that I wiſh to deſtroy. I only "wiſh to ſave myſelf, and the people entruſted to "my care." The object indeed in chaſtizing the wicked, ought not to be ſo much their puniſhment as the ſafety of the people.

But if Choſroes, named Nouſchirvan, knew how to puniſh, he knew alſo how to appreciate crimes, and to forgive. An officer of his houſehold, whom he had diſmiſſed, found himſelf reduced by his diſgrace to the utmoſt poverty. One day the king having given a grand entertainment on his birth-day, the officer carried away a gold diſh, which no body ſaw but the monarch. When the tables were cleared, the diſh was miſſed, and ſought for with the utmoſt anxiety. "Be not uneaſy," ſaid Choſroes, to his domeſtics, "he who has taken "the diſh will not reſtore it; and he who ſaw "him will not inform." The next year the ſame officer preſented himſelf at the royal entertainment, as uſual, and Choſroes ſeeing him in a new dreſs, whiſpered in his ear: "Was it with my diſh that "you bought this fine robe?" "Yes, ſire," replied the officer; and ſhewing the under part of his dreſs, which was exceedingly ſhabby, "you ſee "plainly," added he, "that I could do nothing "more." By this humorous ſally, he got himſelf

again received into favour. Like David, Nouſchirvan had a darling ſon, who revolted againſt him: like David, he recommended him, in affectionate terms, to the general whom he ſent againſt him; and the ſon, like Abſalom, expiated by his death the crime of his rebellion. It was religious enthuſiaſm which miſled this young prince.

The following are ſome of the maxims of this prince, and of others. Exhortation to his ſon:—"Never ſet your foot in a province but to do "good to all the inhabitants; and never leave it "but to go and do good in another. Protect the "ſciences, and follow the advice given you by "aged counſellors. Prevent young people from "interfering in ſtate affairs." He was accoſted one day by a courier crying out: "God is juſt! "God is juſt! The implacable enemy of our ma-"ſter has been carried off by death." "God "forbid," replied the king, with compoſure, "that I ſhould rejoice at the death of my enemy. "There is nothing more ridiculous than for mor-"tals to rejoice at an inſtance of mortality." His domeſtics being in a hurry to get ready for him a diſh of game, which he had ordered, took ſome handfuls of ſalt which did not belong to them. "Go immediately," ſaid he, "and let the owner "be paid." Then turning towards his vizier, "The affair," added he, "is of little importance "in itſelf; but a king ought always to be juſt, "becauſe he ſerves as an example to his ſubjects.

" Since I ought to make my people obſerve " juſtice in the moſt trifling things, I ought to " ſhew them, by my own conduct, that this ob- " ſervance is poſſible. The longeſt life, and the " moſt glorious reign, paſs away like a dream, " and our ſucceſſors tread almoſt on our heels. " It was from my father I received this diadem, " which will ſoon ſerve another."

" What is the moſt diſagreeable ſituation?" ſaid a king to his courtiers. A philoſopher replied: " Old age, joined to poverty." A ſage: " Extreme dejection of mind, accompanied with " excruciating pain." The prime-miniſter: " He " who is near the term of his life, without having " practiſed virtue." The two ſages reſigned the palm to the miniſter.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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